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Gambling platforms and sporting masculinities: place, performance and the negotiation of subjectivities

Hayden Cahill
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Gambling platforms and sporting masculinities: place, performance and the negotiation of subjectivities

Abstract

The gambling industry has moved online through a profusion of sports gambling platforms and young men are a key target market. Sport gambling platforms may be used anywhere and anytime, extending gambling beyond its conventional spatial limits and capitalising on the affordances of the smart device. Yet, little is known about the spaces where sport gambling platforms are used and what they enable young men to achieve. This thesis draws on the related concepts of assemblage, territory, affective atmospheres and subjectivity to offer new understanding of the places where young men use sport gambling platforms and where they usually do not. In doing so, this thesis builds on two strands of literature. First, the longstanding discussion of gambling in social sciences. Geographers have been relatively silent and dominant discourse is shaped by psychology and the public health discipline. Second, and importantly in the context of gambling studies, feminist geographical discussions of masculinity. 13 young men were clinically assessed and deemed to have low and moderate risk gambling behaviour. They accepted an invitation to participate in a mixed-method qualitative research project that combined drawings, diaries, semi-structured interviews and text messages. Interpretation of the data (the everyday experiences of young men who use sport gambling platforms) highlighted the places, performances and the negotiation of identity that unfolds in places. This enabled the men to achieve sporting masculinities and intensify bonds of mateship. The pub, club, footy-trips away and mate's houses each featured prominently. Interpretation also provided insight on the places where gambling platforms are usually excluded. Exclusion was related to socio-cultural norms of the family home, work and university that expect young men to domesticate and professionalise their masculine subjectivities. Including the sport gambling platform in places where it is usually excluded became a source of guilt.

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Gambling platforms and sporting masculinities: place, performance and the negotiation of subjectivities

HONOURS THESIS 2018

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The information in this thesis is entirely the result of investigations conducted by the author, unless otherwise acknowledged, and has not been submitted in part, or otherwise, for any other degree or qualification


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Date

...30.../...10.../...2018.....

Name (please print)

Hayden Donald Cahill

Abstract

The gambling industry has moved online through a profusion of sports gambling platforms and young men are a key target market. Sport gambling platforms may be used anywhere and anytime, extending gambling beyond its conventional spatial limits and capitalising on the affordances of the smart device. Yet, little is known about the spaces where sport gambling platforms are used and what they enable young men to achieve. This thesis draws on the related concepts of assemblage, territory, affective atmospheres and subjectivity to offer new understanding of the places where young men use sport gambling platforms and where they usually do not. In doing so, this thesis builds on two strands of literature. First, the longstanding discussion of gambling in social sciences. Geographers have been relatively silent and dominant discourse is shaped by psychology and the public health discipline. Second, and importantly in the context of gambling studies, feminist geographical discussions of masculinity. 13 young men were clinically assessed and deemed to have low and moderate risk gambling behaviour. They accepted an invitation to participate in a mixed-method qualitative research project that combined drawings, diaries, semi-structured interviews and text messages. Interpretation of the data (the everyday experiences of young men who use sport gambling platforms) highlighted the places, performances and the negotiation of identity that unfolds in places. This enabled the men to achieve sporting masculinities and intensify bonds of mateship. The pub, club, footy-trips away and mate's houses each featured prominently. Interpretation also provided insight on the places where gambling platforms are usually excluded. Exclusion was related to socio-cultural norms of the family home, work and university that expect young men to domesticate and professionalise their masculine subjectivities. Including the sport gambling platform in places where it is usually excluded became a source of guilt.

A note on terminology:

'Sport gambling platforms' is used in this study to refer to all online sports betting applications. When the men in this study refer to 'apps', 'betting apps', 'Sportsbet', and TAB this is the same as reference to sport gambling platforms.

'Multi' – a multi is a type of bet preferred by the men in this study. A multi involves multiple bets bundled in to one. It provides a much higher rate of return than a head-to-head bet. However, the odds of winning are much less.

Low and moderate risk gamblers are those that respond 'no' to all questions of the Brief Biosocial Gambling Screen (Gebauer *et al.*, 2010). They also score between 1 and 7 on the Problem Gambling Severity Index – PGSI (Ferris and Wynne 2001). See also www.responsiblegambling.vic.gov.au

A note of thanks:

Dedicating almost an entire year of my life to this study means that it has shaped me as much as I have shaped it. Professor Gordon Waitt has had a profound influence on my development as an academic and my development as a human. I remember sitting for an early-entry interview into the University of Wollongong when I was 17. Gordon was sitting across from me, conducting the interview. Gordon is a great person and I am lucky to have a mentor like him.

I have the best family. Mum, Dad, Ryan and Adam. We have chosen different paths in life but we are always there for each other. Thanks to my dog Harvey, you were (and still are) so keen for a walk whenever I need a break. Thanks to my Aunty Anna for the catch-up chats over the phone and for being another mentor in my life. Thanks to all my extended family.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1. Research significance and background

Since 2011, sports betting is the fastest growing segment of the Australian gambling market (JSC 2011). More than 80% of Australians have gambled at least once in their life (Bryant 2007). Australian's spend more per capita on gambling than any other country (Queensland Government Statistician Office, 2017). This is fuelled by the onset of sport gambling platforms. They enable gambling at anytime, anywhere and with any amount of money and on almost anything (Hing et al 2017). The Australian Productivity Commission (2010) identified that there are between 250,000 and 350,000 at moderate risk of 'problem' gambling. This group accounts for 84% of the total burden of gambling related harm in Victoria, Australia (Browne et al., 2016). These low and moderate risk gamblers are at an elevated risk becoming recategorized as 'serious problematic gamblers' (Billi et al 2015). This means that they are at risk of emotional, physical, social and economic harm.

Gambling culture is aligned with sport and this has helped constitute it as taken-for-granted, especially among young men (Downs, 2010, McMillen, 2005). For most young men interested in sports, gambling is now a prominent social practice (Gainsbury et al 2012; Gordon et al 2015) heightened by using smart phones and sport gambling platforms. Studies estimate that up to 60% of young Australians under the age of 18 have participated in some form of gambling (DeFabbro and Le Couteur 2009). This is not overlooked by the gambling industry, evident by the saturation of sports broadcasts with promotional material (Lamont et al., 2016; Humphreys, 2010; Deans et al., 2016). Gordon et al., (2015) and Hing et al., (2017) argue that research is urgently required to better understand the potential harms that may emerge from using sport gambling platforms.

The key drivers for increasing gambling are "popularity, accessibility, and user-friendliness of smartphone betting services" IbisWorld (2014: 1). There is a lack of

understanding of exactly where, when, why and how people use, respond to, and are engaged with sport gambling platforms Gambling practices among low and moderate risk young adult gamblers is a research priority given that they are more numerous than problem gamblers, and the burden of gambling related harm is greater among these groups. For example, in Victoria 84% of the social cost of gambling is attributable to low and moderate risk players because they are more numerous (Browne et al., 2016). These costs can be related to family breakdown, poorer performance at work or study and pressures on the health system. Research is needed to better understand the spatial and social context alongside the embodied knowledge that drive gambling behaviour. Further, how this is exacerbated by the increase in gambling marketing and newer forms of gambling such as sport gambling platforms (Monaghan et al 2008). Some advocate for future research on specific subgroups of gamblers, especially young men (Edgren et al., 2017). Valentine and Hughes (2012) advocate for more research that considers how gambling unfolds relative to an array of human and non-human agencies to change space and social relationships. There is also a gap in understanding around what accounts for changes in gambling patterns (Reith and Dobbie, 2013).

1.2. Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study is to better understand where young Australian men aged 18-30 years-of-age, include or exclude sport gambling platforms in everyday life. Two principle questions guide the research:

- Where do young men most enjoy using sport gambling platforms?
- Where do young men exclude sport gambling platforms?

To address the research aim and questions, the sport gambling platform is conceived through a feminist geographical lens that draws on assemblage thinking. To better understand the sport gambling platform from the perspective of the users, a sub-set of questions was also significant to the research. They helped the researcher to be

alive to what sport gambling platforms may help men to achieve. They included: What emotions and affects underpin the use of sport gambling platforms in particular spatial contexts and not others? What does the use of sport gambling platforms enable participants to achieve? How do the emotions and affective atmospheres generated by sport gambling platforms shape participants' sense of self and social relationships?

1.3. Thesis Structure

To address the research aim and questions the thesis is structured in 6 chapters. Chapter 2 is an overview of the existing gambling literature. This is paired with sporting masculinities and the conceptual framework. Key concepts are introduced, specifically assemblage, territory, affective atmosphere and subjectivity. Chapter 3 justifies the mixed-method qualitative methodology that combined drawing, semi-structured interviews, solicited diaries, text messages and a personal research diary. The combination of methods generated gambling life narratives that offered insights on how participants negotiated their subjectivities. Equally, the methods encouraged participants to become reflexive of gambling that had become habitualized and taken-for-granted. Chapter 4 addresses the question – “Where do young men most enjoy using sport gambling platforms?” Thematic analysis helped to identify the pub/club, mate's house, footy-trips away and bedrooms as most enjoyable. This was used to suggest that sport gambling platforms enable men to perform understandings of sporting masculinities alongside generating bonds of mateship and sociability. Chapter 5 shed insight on – “Where do young men exclude sport gambling platforms?” The interpretation in this chapter points to how participants negotiate domestic and professional masculinities. Sometimes, this resulted in the exclusion of the sport gambling platform, particularly at the family home, workplace and university. Chapter 6 concludes the thesis by revisiting the research aims and questions to reinforce the achievements of the study and prescribe future research agendas.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present an overview of the current understanding of gambling. Discourse is shaped by social and clinical psychologists and public health researchers. Social and cultural theorists are beginning to make waves by bringing attention to the role of social and environmental context. The literature review presents these three strands of literature and separate them according to key themes that relate to this study. For example, emotions, gender, family, self-esteem, personal harm and social harm. This is in addition to geography, sociology, social marketing and sporting masculinities. The performative qualities of sport gambling expressed during the collection of empirical material brought the concept of sporting masculinities to the fore.

Following the review of gambling literature, the conceptual framework for this study is laid out. The conceptual framework is alive to assemblage thinking, processes of territorialisation, affective atmosphere and subjectivity. The concluding remarks of this chapter justify the aim and key questions of the study by aligning them with the current gaps in knowledge. Key contributions relate to sport gambling platforms, emotional and affective intensities and how human and more-than-human elements interrelate as part of a sport gambling assemblage.

2.2. Gambling Research

Researchers and clinicians interested in studying sports betting and gambling more broadly are guided by psychology, public health and social and cultural theory. They

are in this order from most common to least common, and there is an iteration around problem gamblers and the subsequent harms they are exposed to.

Psychology is most interested in predicting problematic behaviour, whereas public health likes to propose regulatory and preventative frameworks to minimise harm, and social and cultural theory concerns itself with the social and environmental contexts with which the gambling unfolds. There is a plethora of research particularly from psychology and from the perspective of the public health discipline. For this literature review, themes related to the scope and interest of this study have been drawn out of the existent understanding.

2.2.1 Psychology

The psychology literature generally seeks to provide explanations for individual gambling behaviour. Gambling is as an outcome of combinations of independent variables. These are used to predict problematic gambling (see Delfabbro and King, 2016; Ferris and Wynne, 2001; Gainsbury et al., 2016; Wood and Williams, 2011). Research and intervention comes mainly from social and clinical psychology. Gambling is understood to be an addictive behavioural disorder that responds to clinical intervention (Cornil et al., 2018; Delfabbro & King, 2016). Psychologists focus on the individual and not the wider social norms and political contexts that regulate the gambling industry. Therefore, social psychologists tend to use a human behaviour framework (Mowen and Minor, 1998). Others conceptualise motive through the lens of self-determination theory (Deci and Ryan, 2002; Rodriguez et al., 2015). The psychology literature on gambling is extensive, but given the scope of this study, the literature review turns attention to a small cohort of recent psychology studies. They relate to core research themes: emotions, gender, family and self-esteem.

Emotions

Investigating human emotion as a predictor of gambling behaviour is a recent intervention in psychology. Dwyer and Weinder (2018) identified a knowledge gap in

understanding the mediating impact of emotions. Emotion is understood as positive, such as joy (see Dwyer and Kim 2011; Rodriguez et al. 2015) or negative, such as anxiety (see Broman-Fulks et al. 2014; Dwyer and LeCrom 2013). Kendzierski and DeCarlo's (1991) Physical Activity Enjoyment Scale (see also Graves et al., 2010) is used in gambling studies to test for enjoyment, fun and frustration induced by gambling. Negative emotions are considered relative to fear of making wrong decisions, causing failure (Dwyer and LeCrom 2013; Troy 2014). These are measured with a Decisions Styles instrument (Leykin and DeRubeis, 2010). Dwyer and Weinder (2018) surveyed 534 individuals and conducted multiple linear regression analyses to argue that internal and external stimuli such as perceptions of skill and chance regulate motivational orientations within environments. They identified enjoyment and anxiety work together with causality orientations to increase gambling activity. What remains unclear is the mediating effect of emotions on causality orientations themselves.

Gender

Gender is a key concept within the social psychology gambling literature because it is used to predict who (men or women) are more susceptible to problem gambling (Delfabbro and King, 2016; Edgren et al., 2017; Ricijaš et al., 2014; Scholes-Balog et al. 2016). However, this understanding is shaped by the perception that gender is a pre-fixed biological category. The pathways model is used to test if gender is a predicative measure of gambling behaviour (Blaszczynski and Nower, 2002). It is engaged to account for biological, personality, developmental, cognitive, learning theory and ecological determinants (Edgren et al., 2017). The model suggests there three categories of gamblers; behaviourally conditioned problem gamblers, emotionally vulnerable problem gamblers and antisocial, impulsivist problem gamblers (Scholes-Balog et al., 2016). This framework was engaged in a study that surveyed individuals aged 18-74 years which investigated gender specific distinctions between online and land-based gambling. Increased availability and accessibility of online gambling were found to implicate young men as problem gamblers more than any other group (Edgren et al., 2017). Some have called for future research to focus on specific

subgroups of gamblers to better understand the 'altering gambling milieu' (Edgren et al., 2017).

Family

Like gender, psychologists rely on normative definitions of family as nuclear and typically align with the social strand to address the question – do young people learn to gamble from their parents? This shifts attention to the association between problem gambling symptoms of adolescents and levels of parental supervision (Delfabbro and King, 2016; Shead et al., 2010). Parents are understood to shape young people's attitudes, interests, personalities and behaviours (Derevensky et al., 1996). However, there is uncertainty around whether parents contribute to problem gambling. For example, a prospective study of 717 boys from the age of 13-17 years concluded that parental supervision was not a reliable predictor for problem gambling behaviour (Vitaro et al., 2001). In contrast, others suggest parents who gamble increase the likelihood of problem gambling for children and that higher levels of parental monitoring and supervision relates to lower levels of adolescent gambling (Magoon and Ingersool, 2006; Chalmers & Willoughby, 2006; Vachon, Vitaro, Wanner and Tremblay, 2004; Wanner, Vitaro, Ladouceur, Brendgen, & Tremblay, 2006). In a recent study by Delfabbro and King (2016), 824 adolescents participated in a gambling activities questionnaire. Despite finding that higher levels of parental supervision correlated with lower levels of problem gambling symptoms and vice versa, they concluded adolescent perception of parental influence was not a statically significant predictor of problem gambling behaviour. The uncertainty of psychologists in respect to gambling and family underscores the need to examine further how gambling patterns change in response to familial bodies and places through spatial analysis.

Self-esteem

Gambling behaviour is thought to be related to self-esteem (Rosenthal 1993; Taylor and Brown, 1998). On the one hand, high self-esteem operates as a personal 'buffer' that reduces the likelihood of engaging in 'delinquent' behaviours like gambling

(Baumeister et al., 1996). Others suggest that participation in risky activities is a mechanism to fulfil positive evaluations of the self (Kaplan 1975; Thoits, 1994). These perspectives are driven by clinical psychologists. Social psychologists are now more interested in the role of environment and self-esteem.

Ho (2017) tested the efficiency of self-esteem as a predictor for problem gambling while aiming to better understand the permissive gambling culture and individual risk factors that contribute to adolescent pathological gambling. Using a survey of 2,258 students, the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1993) was engaged to measure an individual's self-worth. Data was statistically analysed to find that low self-esteem is a predictor of problem gambling in young adults. However, it was less of a significant predictor than the type of gambling activity. For example, online gambling. Ho (2017) considered the family unit and society more broadly to suggest that increased availability, acceptance and normalization of gambling increased the likelihood of problem gambling in adolescents. Future research on preventative measures at individual and societal levels is suggested (Ho, 2017).

2.2.2 Public Health

This section offers a review of gambling from the realm of public health. Gambling is considered a pathological behaviour or an addictive disorder (Hing et al., 2017) and a major public health issue (Thomas & Thomas, 2015). Gambling is configured as an outcome variable, operationalised in terms of frequency of gambling and amount spent. Discussion is founded on quantitative methods where an emphasis is placed on the correlation between gambling and other variables. In addition, gambling is depicted as a social issue that undermines family life. A mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods is utilised by public health researchers and there is an alertness to discourses circulated by the gambling industry.

Personal harm

Personal health ds brought about by gambling include headaches, nausea, stress, anxiety and depression (Bellringer, 2017; Catford, 2012). The public health literature is particularly interested in the correlation between gambling advertisements and increased gambling, especially for those suffering from a gambling disorder (Hing et al., 2014, 2017; Milner e al., 2013). Lamont et al., (2016) tried to better understand the correlation between gambling advertising, gambling and self-perception. In a similar study, Hing et al., (2017) suggested that male internet sports bettors are most likely to succumb to gambling problems because gambling sponsorship is embedded in the sports broadcasts they watch. This is indicative of 'forced exposure' (Milner et al., 2013; Thomas *et al.*, 2012) because of the heightened engagement men have with sports in certain cultural contexts. This undermines the efforts of addicted gamblers to abstain or reduce their levels of gambling (Hing et al., 2014). Public health practitioners suggest young men are most at risk of personally harmful gambling because of their heavy involvement with sport (Carstén et al., 2018; Thomas et al., 2012; Hing et al., 2015).

Different gambling modes (casino, poker machines, TAB, platforms) may also relate to different levels of personal harm (Cartsen et al., 2018; Browne et al., 2016a, 2016b; Langham et al., 2016). Carstén et al., (2018) used quantitative surveys and a probability distribution model to argue that higher frequency gambling activities such as mobile sports betting applications exacerbate potential of personal harm. The applications encourage watching sport and spending more time and money on gambling (Hing et al., 2015, Cartstén et al., 2018). Higher frequency gambling is afforded and this is predicted to increase personal harms, whether to physical and emotional health, finances, work or study (Carstén et al., 2018; Browne et al., 2016a, 2016b; Langham et al., 2016). Others argue that financial loss causes the greatest negative impact to an individual's emotional wellbeing and is the primary cause of gambling-related personal harm (Armstrong et al., 2017). Interestingly, Carstén et al., (2018) suggest that personal harms to the gambler have a flow-on effect to others. This implies a shift from dominant understandings of gambling as solely something of the individual. The role of space is unclear.

Social harm

Alcohol and tobacco are widely understood in terms of their social harms (Browne et al., 2017). Gambling is less understood in this way, despite the parallels that link these forms of consumption as part of the night-time economy and as risky and 'problematic' behaviours. Some suggest that social harms of gambling include financial hardship, family breakdown, reduced productivity at work or study, and criminal activity (Browne, 2016). The (Australian) Productivity Commission (2010) found that social harms relate to not purchasing essential items such as food and clothing. This implies a flow-on effect to families and other social units. Similarly, Browne (2016) suggested that financial hardships of gambling addiction are as much a social harm than an individual harm. Further extending research related to financial hardship, Browne et al., (2017) used health-related quality of life decrements of gambling addiction (World Health Organisation, 2001) to conceptualise the related economic impacts on health systems. Impacts were said to be like bipolar disorder and alcoholism and felt by partners, parents, children and society more broadly (Fulton, 2015). The work by public health practitioners around social harms pulls them into conversation with critical and social theorists.

In relation to the above, work by Deans et al., (2016) is exemplary. They used 50 semi-structured interviews with young men to advocate for effective public health responses to gambling because of the social harms to individuals, families and communities. They drew on research that recognised the socio-cultural, environmental, and commercial determinants of gambling (Korn et al., 2003; Adams and Rossen, 2012; Thomas and Thomas, 2015). Constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2009) helped to acknowledge the subjective nature of research, personal experiences, values, interactions and geographical placements and how these interact and impact the research process. Together, Deans et al., (2010) explored the appeal factors associated with different environments and the factors that encourage young men to engage in different, and more harmful types of gambling. The ease of access to gambling because of mobile technologies heightens the intangibility of money, involvement in social rituals and consumption alcohol (see also Derevensky et al,

2010; Hing et al., 2014, 2016; Rockloff and Dyer, 2007). Deans et al., (2010) concluded that there are situational and structural factors that promote risky and harmful gambling environments for young men.

Other public health researchers and practitioners engage with social responsibility frameworks to demonstrate the link between upsurges in gambling promotion and increasing social harms (Lamont et al., 2016). Increasing promotion of gambling products contributes to normalization of gambling and vice versa. Using ideas from social and cultural theorists such as consumer culture theory, Milner et al., (2013) and Thomas et al., (2012) argued the social risks of harm from gambling are exacerbated because of the intrusion of promotional material into sports broadcasts, logos, sponsored segments, displayed betting odds and extended betting commentary.

2.2.3. Social and Cultural Theory

Geography

Gambling is paid very little attention by geographers despite the recent focus on the night-time economy and its relation to the consumption of alcohol and tobacco. That said, in the geographical literature, gambling is framed through approaches of political economy and emotional geographies. Political economists address component parts of gambling such as social disadvantage and the gambling industry. Attention turns to how the gambling industry is understood as an 'akratic' expression of capitalism (Harvey, 2003). Accordingly, gambling is depicted as a form of coercive consumption that exploits weaknesses by capitalising on interrelations between spatially fixed capital, competition and technology (Doran and Young, 2010). The gambling industry utilizes place and social disadvantage to further exacerbate gambling harms (Doran & Young, 2010; Livingstone, 2001; Marshall & Baker, 2001, 2002; Rintoul, Livingstone, Mellor, & Jolley, 2013). A casino in Australia's Northern Territory is conceived as incorporating the marginalised Aboriginal population into the market economy as consumers. This is despite the failure of the market and the State to provide meaningful inclusionary alternatives in the realm of production (Young et al., 2012).

In this way, the casino is a space of inclusion in the capitalist market that also economically exploits and marginalises.

Geographies of emotion are attentive to emotional and affective intensities of gambling that pass-through individuals and the social groupings around them. Valentine and Hughes (2012) understood the family as a site of intimacy to better grasp how people negotiate the emotional and social risks of gambling. The family home is an affective space that regulates, invokes, includes and excludes ways of being that emerge because of an individual's problem gambling. Valentine and Hughes (2010) got-to-know 26 families over three months and used emotion and affect to understand how lives are changed when a family member discloses their problem gambling. The disclosure pulled away sexual partners while pulling together married couples and children, perhaps because of the felt intensities of intimacy (Valentine and Hughes, 2012). Emotional geographies help us to understand how gambling unfolds in relation to an array of human and non-human agencies, in addition to how space and social relationships change in tandem. Valentine and Hughes (2012) advocate for more research that is alive to these flows.

Sociology

Sociology literature is focused on problem gambling however it considers the role of family, the gambling industry, social and environmental context and changes over time. Moving beyond the individual, gambling is situated in social contexts that are dynamic and fast changing (Reith, 2011, 2012). This reflects that the transitory, unstable and multidirectional attributes of gambling behaviour (Abbot, 1999, 2004; LaPlante et al., 2008; Reith and Dobbie, 2012, Slutske, 2003). Sociologists are attentive to gambling motivations and meanings (Thomson and Holland, 2003). In addition, sociologists critique the work of psychology that understand gambling as an outcome variable. This is achieved by highlighting the roles of socio-cultural, regulatory and commercial environments where gambling is situated (Casey, 2003; Reith, 2007). There are questions related to the processes that contribute to changing gambling

patterns, particularly in relation to the transition from recreation to problem gambling (Reith and Dobbie, 2012).

Longitudinal qualitative studies characterise sociological research to understand changes in gambling meanings, motivations and practices over-time (Reith and Dobbie, 2012). For example, Clarke et al., (2006) was interested in the transition from social to problem gambling, describing socio-economic status, alcohol and loss of control as key themes that contribute to change. Furthermore, social and cultural contexts are implicated as key to socialising gambling (Reith and Dobbie, 2011). Parents that gamble may introduce children to gambling whether directly or indirectly (Reith and Dobbie, 2011) and changes in gambling patterns may move in relation to household income and employment (Reith and Dobbie, 2013). Such understanding emerges against a backdrop of theories of social and cultural capital (see Abbott, 2001; Bourdieu, 1984; Orford, Morrison, & Somers, 2003; White et al., 2000). Sociologists advocate future research that is alive to intensities of gambling that emerge through a multiplicity of things. There is a gap in understanding what accounts for changes in gambling patterns (Reith and Dobbie, 2013).

Of note is the work of Torrens and Goggin (2014) on gambling platforms. Torrens and Goggin (2014) argue that online gambling applications bring together social gambling and longstanding gambling cultures and practices and extend them into the everyday. New gambling technologies capitalise on the mobile phone's intimate, portable and flexible affordances (Goggin, 2006, 2010). The concept of the "magic circle" is engaged to visualise the space 'where all play moves.' (Huizinga 1938/55). The conceptual tool stipulates that space is marked off materially, ideally, deliberately or as a matter of course (Torrens and Goggin, 2014). The notion of 'magic circle' is used to identify and describe how gambling "leaks" into the everyday through online gambling and its normalization as entertainment. Torrens and Goggin (2014) are alive to the potential ethical, cultural and political implications of such an incursion, offering up conceptual utility of "magic circle."

Social marketing

Gambling is situated in a relaxed policy and regulatory context when compared to tobacco, alcohol and other drugs. Gambling advertisements are more common and marketing of gambling is a prominent point of discussion in the literature (Humphreys, 2010). Consumer culture theory (Korn, 2003) helped to understand the experiences of groups of men aged 18-30 years who bet on sport in a non-problematic fashion (Gordon et al., 2015). Qualitative methods enabled Gordon et al., (2015) to be alive to the potentially sensitive topics under discussion in the context of the research, achieving a more nuanced approach to data collection. Combined with an interpretivist approach (Cotte, 1997; Korn et al., 2003; Latour, 2009) that sought to unravel patterns of subjective understanding rather than an objective truth (Roth and Mehta, 2002). Gordon et al., (2015) repositioned sports betting as a reflection of modernity's lifestyle of consumption. Marketing of gambling products was understood to capitalize on socio-cultural constructs like rituals, mateship, winning and success, social status, thrill and adventure, hedonism, and sexuality (Deans et al., 2016). According to Gordon et al (2015), gambling is presented as a social activity that invokes notions of shared cultural value, competition, loyalty and performances of sporting masculinity. However, the meanings are spatially variable and governed by social structures and interactions that work to foster shared intrinsic connections among those who participate. Those who do not are differentiated as 'outsiders' (Gordon et al., 2015).

One legacy of social practice theory (Reckwitz, 2002; Schatzki, 2002; Shove, Pantzar and Watson, 2012) is present in articles that conceive gambling as a leisure and consumption activity. Gambling emerges from a 'bundle' of practices that weave together in everyday life (Schatzki, 2002) and does not occur in isolation. Social practice theory helps researchers understand the implications of the legitimisation of gambling as an activity of leisure (Gordon et al., 2018; Westerberg, 2017). Westberg (2017) studied families and argued that gambling is normalized during childhood in response to 'family identity goals' that relate to membership, bonding, coming-of-age, emotional sustenance and community (Epp and price, 2008). Gordon et al., (2018) argued that gambling is an act shaped by and comprised of bodily and mental

activities, materials, things, knowledge, language, structures, place, power and individual and group agency. Gambling is studied more holistically in social marketing and other branches of social and cultural theory than in psychology. Researchers advocate future study that conceives gambling as a dynamic and multifaceted activity comprised of bodies, materials, spaces, places, language and discourse (Gordon et al., 2018).

(Sporting) Masculinities

The experience and meanings of men and sport has recently been brought to analytical attention in geography and allied disciplines. Despite the acknowledgment by feminist geographers that geography was long dominated by men and written through a masculinist western prism, only since the mid-2000s has the discipline turned to better understand men's experiences and the constitution of masculine subjectivities. Van Hoven and Horshelmann, (2005, p47) argued, 'geography has long been a discipline dominated by men and one about men'. Hopkins and Gorman-Murray (2014) have since edited a large collection of works concerned with the intersection between masculinities and place. They suggest the emergence of research about masculinities and place can be traced to feminist social and cultural geographical work that draws attention to structures, processes and places of inequality and injustice that sustain unequal gender relations (e.g. Berg and Longhurst, 2003; Hopkins and Noble, 2009; McDowell, 2003; van Hoven and Horschelmann, 2005). The edited collection is packed with themes that explore how masculinity is constructed and how the emergent masculine performances are spatially variable. For example, chapters relate to masculinities that emerge in relation to the home, work, family, care, health and wellbeing.

Perspectives on Masculinity: How to better understand men's experiences and the constitution of masculine subjectivities?

The legacy of Simone De Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* for feminist scholarship includes advocating for the notions that the body is integral to understanding our lived experience, that men's and women's experience are different, and that gender is socially constructed. In its most reduced form, this thought helped explain the social inequalities between men and women. However, perceptions informed by structuralist thinkers locked people into fixed pre-existing categories and continue to shape discourse on gender. To move away from this, a feminist philosophy of the body is vital as gender can be rethought as an embodied everyday performance. In this regard, the philosopher Judith Butler (1993) is influential. Her texts had a tremendous impact on theories of gender and sex as performative. The legacy of Judith Butler's work is that gender and sex is thought of something that we do, that is underpinned by social norms that come to appear taken-for-granted. That said, through acts of repetition in our everyday lives, there are always possibilities for doing gender differently. A seminal article by Bell et al., (1994) optimises the work of Butler by trying to better understand the constitution of masculine subjectivities in geography. Bell et al., (1994) underscored that the performativity of gendered subjectivities always occurs somewhere. At the crux of this field of literature is the notion of performativity that plays out in uneven relationships of socially constituted power. Power and relationships are produced by the reinforcing of the ideals of certain groups.

Other scholars acknowledge the importance of rethinking gender as performative while at the same time questioning the absence of the material body (Longhurst, 2001). The feminist philosopher Elizabeth Grosz (1994) is imperative to corporeal feminism in this regard because of her work that addressed the materiality of bodies as an active agent in the constitution of gendered subjectivities. Grosz, as well as Elspeth Probyn, turned to the work of Deleuze and Guattari and specifically the notion of assemblage to acknowledge the agency of both the social and material in the unfolding experience of gender. Gender can be conceived as embodied, constructed and emplaced, constituted through organisations of space (Grosz, 1994; Longhurst, 1994). For corporeal feminists, gender is understood as an unfolding experience

within a socio-material assemblage, that is contingent on ideas, emotions, affect, things, actions and people (Longhurst and Johnston, 2014; Waitt and Clement 2016).

Geographical perspectives on sporting masculinity

In the literature on geographies of sport, feminist scholarship has studied sporting masculinity through the approach of performativity and assemblage thinking. In a study with refugees who play soccer in Australia, Evers (2010) drew upon a performative approach to investigate how refugee men fit in as “youth” in their new context. Evers (2010) showed how the performances enacted through sport that enable the refugee men to fit in with other Australian men, are reserved for places where they feel it is encouraged and accepted. In contrast, performances of sporting masculinity are excluded from family homes. This relates to work by Freeman (1997: 321) who argued that men are ‘acclimatised all their lives to separating their maleness into boxes’. This work underscores the utility of thinking spatially about the doing of sporting masculinities.

There are also examples of corporeal approaches that draw on assemblage thinking to give agency to what materials do, such as generating emotions and affects. Waitt and Clifton (2015) studied the role of emotions alongside rural Australian masculinist ideals that shape playing football (Kell, 2000). The body of the footballer is a site of masculine excess that is central to the construction of masculine gendered subjectivities. This works to normalize and contest acceptable modes of gender identity and behaviour, in addition to the material dimensions (Waitt and Clifton, 2015). By focussing on affective intensities that circulate between bodies, Waitt and Clifton (2015) show the dynamics of the politics of shame in becoming a footballer. Further work by Evers (2013) described how male bodies change in relation to varying, confusing and moving experiences that comprise ‘becoming a surfer.’ Alongside the historical discourses of Australian sporting masculinity (see Evers, 2013) that shape rituals are the circulation of affect and emotion gendered by the presence of bats, balls, grass, ocean, weather and bodies of players and spectators.

2.3. Conceptual Framework

This thesis draws of three inter-related concepts of assemblage, territory and affective atmosphere. The emergence of these concepts is due to the work of Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari.

2.3.1 Assemblage

The notion of assemblage is a contested concept in geography because, “there is no single ‘correct’ way to deploy the term, nor does any-one theoretical tradition or style hold an exclusive right to it.” (Anderson and McFarlane, 2011: 124). An assemblage is understood as a working arrangement that achieves something or makes something available (Deleuze and Guattari, 1986, 1987). ‘It’ is comprised of forms of expression (emotional, affect, ideas) and forms of content (materials, bodies and actions). Assemblage thinking requires attending to the processes in which emergent qualities work alongside emotions, affect, ideas, and all the other human and non-human things that are assembled at any given moment. The assemblage brings discourse-based ways of understanding the world into communication with more materially and affectively based ways (Boyer and Spinney, 2016: 1115). An assemblage forefronts relationality by stimulating the interrelations between on-going processes of transformation. This constant becoming is situated in place (Boyer and Spinney, 2016: 1116). The concept of an assemblage brings the corporeal dimensions of everyday life to the fore. It is a provisional working arrangement that includes and excludes to achieve something (see Clement and Waitt, 2018). The concept of an assemblage helps to understand sports betting and the use of gambling platforms as processes of inclusion and exclusion that enables something to happen (Buchanan, 2017). The notion of assemblage is closely associated with the related concepts of territory, subjectivity and affective atmosphere.

2.3.2 Territory

A territory is an expression of an assemblage, comprised by working arrangements constituted by the forces between humans and non-humans (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). A territory is responsive to problems of identity, whether of a person, place or something else. What emerges from an assemblage 'claims a territory' that is different to before and is reflective of processes of making and remaking. A territory is not stable and does not have fixed boundaries as it conjugates expressive flows of emotions, affects and ideas with forms of content like materials, bodies and actions. A territory produces order and enables organisation by enlivening the body to the role of signs, responding to a dialectic of recognition with devices of inclusion-exclusion (Buchanan, 2017). Betting on sport and using gambling platforms can be thought of as an activity of territorialisation because of how it reproduces particular gendered norms of bodily comportment and reconstructs environments.

Reterritorialisation and deterritorialisation are the processes of a territory that emerge from an assemblage. They unfold because of the forces generated by the expressive and material dimensions of using gambling platforms that make it intelligible to other parts of the world. These forces align bodily spaces with social spaces as a process of reterritorialisation. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987: 320) said, "it is a question of keeping at a distance the forces of chaos knocking at the door." A reterritorialisation emerges from an assemblage and reclaims and maintains a territory. Relative to sports betting and gambling platforms, a reterritorialisation can be felt in the context of a pub. However, territories are only ever provisionally held because new elements enter, alliances break, and new conjunctions are fostered. This is despite the capacity for hegemonic knowledges to set them loosely in place. Following Deleuze and Guattari, deterritorialisation occurs where bodily spaces do not align with social space. Practically, this can be felt during the discomfort of using a gambling platform in certain spaces such as the university or parental home. This deterritorialisation is closely related to dominant meanings and understandings of what it means to be a 'good' student or a 'good' child.

2.3.3 Subjectivity

After Deleuze and Guattari (1987) subjectivities are not preconfigured. Rather, they are produced through intra-actions with social and material worlds. Gender is a prime candidate to be understood as always contingent on forms of content and forms of expression that enable it to be assembled in particular contexts (Waitt and Stanes, 2016). In terms of masculinity, Braidotti helps to understand it as a case of: “the actualization of the immanent encounter between subjects, entities, and forces which are apt mutually to affect and exchange parts with one another” (Braidotti, 2002: 68). When combined with assemblage thinking, the men in this study understand themselves as boyfriend, mate or son. Thinking through subjectivity, identity always emerges in the interplay between feelings, senses, ideas, actions and things. These become then become part of a sport gambling assemblage. Subjectivity can be used to think about masculinity in the context of this thesis. Masculinity is fashioned through sets of ideas about what it means to be son, mate, sportsman and gambler. Additionally, masculinity is understood as configured by engagements with the material world that include the sight and sounds of sports, taste of alcohol and smells of a pub. Becoming involved with the gambling platform and betting on sports becomes a highly affective engagement.

2.3.4 Affective Atmosphere

The concept of ‘affective atmosphere’ draws on geographers’ longstanding interest in a ‘sense of place’ (Rodaway, 1994). That is, the way that bodies experience place. The notion of affective atmosphere is complimentary to assemblage thinking. It draws attention to how bodies and non-human actants are affected by each other generating impersonal or transpersonal intensities (McCormack, 2008; Stewart, 2007). Anderson (2009) says that affective atmospheres are fragments of space that are animated by singular affective qualities and the resonances, interferences and tension between them. Following Anderson (2010), atmospheres are singular qualities that emanate from but exceed the assembling of bodies. When affects collect together they are felt. An atmosphere can be present or absent, material or ideal, definite or indefinite,

singular or general (Anderson, 2010). The atmosphere is an emergent quality that is different depending on subjective experience and it can work to include or exclude humans and more-than-humans. An affective atmosphere is comprised of bodies and spaces and can become tied to certain places. The concept of affective atmosphere helps to be alive to subjectivities and how they are always becoming within socio-material assemblages. Anderson notes that affective atmospheres are “a class of experience that occur before and alongside the formation of subjectivity” (Anderson, 2009: 78). Hence, the study understands affective atmospheres to be generated through the inclusion and exclusion of gambling platforms. This offers insights to how the men understand themselves.

2.4. Conclusion

This chapter set the scene for what is to follow in the methodological discussion and analysis of empirical material. Psychology is shown to shape discourse around gambling as a cognitive deficiency and addictive disorder. The onus is placed on the individual rather than the gambling industry and clinical intervention is championed as the best treatment for problematic and pathological gambling. Public health is overwhelmingly concerned with gambling ‘harms’, whether at the level of the personal, or society more broadly. Both are almost entirely concerned with problematic gambling. Social and cultural theorists begin to broaden the scope of gambling research and emergent understanding. They consider the role of social and environmental context and use qualitative methodologies to better understand the emotional and affective dimensions of gambling, including individuals and families. The onus is removed from the individual in social and cultural theory as the gambling industry is implicated as using marketing strategies to embed promotional material into sport broadcasts. Social and cultural theorists are heavily concerned with problematic gamblers. However, some are shifting attention to low and moderate risk gamblers. This is timely considering that low and moderate risk gamblers are more numerous.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter offers a justification for the mixed method qualitative research design by showing how it offered insights to both distributed agency that characterises assemblage thinking. Human geographers are harnessing a range of conventional qualitative techniques to recognize and engage with more-than-human geographies (Dowling, 2016). This study builds on previous methodological discussions to reveal the affective qualities of sports betting that are often difficult to put into words. However, it was not without challenge. Waitt and Welland (2017) have previously demonstrated the difficulty of representing emerging and dissipating qualities of the socio-material assemblages that comprise everyday life (Waitt and Welland, 2017).

The chapter is divided into four sections: semi-structured interview, solicited research diary, personal research diary and rhizoanalysis. Each section justifies a method and describes the challenges that arose in the context of this study. The research design received ethics approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Wollongong (See Appendix B). Before beginning, it is important to discuss the process of recruitment and provide the characteristics of the men involved.

3.2 Method of Recruitment

Facebook was the primary recruitment tool, because of the potential to access to a large base of potential participants without much effort. In the digital age, sites such as Facebook alter the temporality of fieldwork and the research process more broadly (see De Jong, 2015). This blurs the boundary between research and everyday life, positively shaping the knowledge produced by levelling the power relations inherent in formal researcher/participant engagements. A post was made to university 'Buy

and Sell' pages. In addition, the same post was circulated to Wollongong community groups. The following flyer was used:



The flyer has a solid blue background. At the top, the title 'Do you bet on sports?' is written in a large, orange, sans-serif font. Below the title, the study description is written in a smaller, white, sans-serif font. It states that the study is an Honours year project at the University of Wollongong, aims to understand mobile sports gambling app usage, and offers a \$20 gift voucher for participation. It also lists the criteria for participants: men who have used a betting app in the last 12 months, aged 18-30, and living in metropolitan Sydney/Wollongong. At the bottom left, contact information for Hayden Cahill is provided in white text. At the bottom right, the University of Wollongong Australia logo is displayed, consisting of a crest and the university's name in white capital letters.

Do you bet on sports?

'You bet? Mobile sports betting apps and young men' is a study conducted by Hayden Cahill as part of an Honours year project at the University of Wollongong. The project aim is to better understand how young men use mobile sports gambling applications. Participation involves sharing your everyday experiences of using mobile sports betting apps, at a time and place that suits you. You will receive a \$20 gift voucher for your participation. To participate you must be:

A man who uses or has used a betting app within the last 12 months, between 18 – 30 years-of-age and living in metropolitan Sydney/Wollongong.

If you would like more information, please contact Hayden Cahill
Phone: 0451 404 766
Email: hc847@uowmail.edu.au


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AUSTRALIA

Ten participants were recruited directly via Facebook. Snowball recruitment was a second strategy, however just three participants joined the study after their friend (a participant) told them about it. Recruitment was hindered by the university exam period and mid-session break. Individuals expressed interest, although their motivation waned when exams and holidays were assembled together. Slow recruitment may also be related to the 'taboo' discourse of gambling in some circles (for example, families). Given the younger demographic and the fact that many participants lived at home with their parents, the emotional and affective intensities of the family home that exclude the sport gambling platform could have worked to exclude the study from the working arrangements of the everyday. These fears may have been exacerbated because of the rural vibe of Wollongong, especially when compared with Sydney.

Potential participants were screened with the Brief Biosocial Gambling Screen (Gebauer *et al.*, 2010). This ensured that they did not have a gambling problem. This aligned with the aim of the study and the capacity of the researcher who was not trained to deal with and provide support to individuals suffering from gambling

addiction. If potential participants responded 'yes' to any of the following questions, they were kindly thanked for their interest and provided with the contact details of Gambling Help NSW (<http://www.gamblinghelp.nsw.gov.au/> - 1800 858 858):

- 1) During the past 12 months, have you become restless, irritable or anxious when trying to stop/cut down on gambling?
- 2) During the past 12 months, have you tried to keep your family or friends from knowing how much you gamble?
- 3) During the past 12 months did you have such financial trouble as a result of your gambling that you had to get help with living expenses from family, friends or welfare?

3.3. Sample attributes

Name	Age	Plays or played sport (yes/no)	Relationship status	Living arrangement	Occupation
Bryan	23	Yes	Single	Shared household	Full-time student (law) and works on the family farm during university holidays
Johnny	20	Yes	Single	Family home	Full-time student (international studies)
Lewis	21	Yes	Single	Shared household	Full-time student (business)
Rod	24	Yes	Recently single	Family home	Full-time student (accounting)
Matt	19	Yes	Single	Family home	Laborer on a construction site and aspiring 'AFL athlete'
Lyle	19	Yes	In a relationship	Family home	Full-time student (medicine) and casual hospitality work when on university holidays
Charlie	20	Yes	Single	Family home	Full-time student (history)
Anthony	25	Yes	In a relationship	Shared household	Plumber
Jamal	25	Yes	Single	Shared household	Full-time student (nursing) and support worker with elderly and disabled
Michael	28	No	In a relationship	Together with fiancée	Part-time student (computer science)
Tony	22	Yes	Single	Family home	Barrister
Steve	28	Yes	Single	Own home	Electrician (fly-in fly-out work)
Harvey	20	No	Single	Family home	Full-time student (accounting)

3.3.1. Sample summary

The participants in this study were all born in Australia, except for Jamal. Jamal was born in Nigeria and came to Australia when he was 21-years-old. He had family in Australia and was able to enrol at the University of Wollongong. The rest of the men in this study were white. Their heritage included English, Irish, Scottish, Italian, German, Greek and Macedonian. However, they all identified as 'Aussies.' Most of the men play sport or played sport, including rugby league, rugby union, cricket, tennis, golf and soccer. Because most participants were recruited through 'University buy-and-sell' pages on Facebook, many participants were university students. However, there was still a mixture of occupations, ranging from tradespeople to a barrister. Younger participants tended to live in the family home because of the conveniences it affords, such as little to no rent and less responsibility. Older men lived in shared households, with partners or by themselves.

3.4. The semi-structured interview

The semi-structured interview is an enduring method in human geography, albeit in enriched forms (Dowling, 2016). Pink (2008) describes the interview as an opportunity for the researcher and participant to discuss life, beliefs, values, opinions, experiences and practices. It enables the participant to take control of discussion. Others have shown how the interview captures bodily performances, movements, senses, digital interfaces, emotions and affects (Longhurst and Johnston, 2014; Sharp and Dowler, 2014). While others use the semi-structured interview to generate participant narratives that help better understand fluctuations in patterns and relationships over the life course (McDowell, 2010; Jackson and Russell, 2010). Debate centres on the capacity for the interview to garner insights into social life 'as it happens' (DeLyser and Sui 2013; Dowling, 2016: 683; Hay 2005; Jackson & Russell 2010; McDowell, 2010). This debate reinforces an awareness in the social sciences on the notion of practice, habit and affect. Pink (2008: 89) suggests that: "although there are limits to the extent to which we can access other people's embodied experiences through the interview,

there are strong arguments for using this method.” In support, the researcher was aware that participants’ experiential world (because of subjectivities) was not their own (Bondi, 2003). This is evidenced in the following extract from the research diary:

15/06/18

I'm just preparing for interview number 2 that is going to take place at 12.30pm tomorrow. I'm reading some of Pink's 'Sensory Ethnography' text and I had a thought about the likely location for tomorrow's discussion - the Uni Bar. Co-fabricating knowledge in this environment with the participant may well encourage reflection on the behalf of the participant and their experiences. I'm thinking about sensorial recall that could be encouraged by being emplaced in a bar-style environment. The sights, the sounds, the smells. If the participant reveals themselves as a social user of betting apps, they may be more readily able to access their sports betting experiences and the emotions that underpin them through their sensorial emplacement in a like environment.

Now, of course I am thinking about the first interview in a new way. We were emplaced within his family home. How did this environment affect what was shared by the participant and how it was communicated. It might have helped with the reflections related to family. It might have affected what moments were recounted as spent with friends.

It is very important to remain alive to the dimensions.

‘How to generate gambling life narratives that offer insights into the embodied, affective and emotional dimensions of betting?’ This was the question that shaped the application of semi-structured interviews in this study. The interview generated a space for the co-production of knowledge between the researcher and participant. Emotions are an integral part of the knowledge produced by semi-structured

interviews and they were conceived as an affecting force that circulates and becomes stored within and between people, places and things, working to connect and disconnect. The semi-structured interview facilitated reflexive thought, collaboration and the sharing of emotional and affective experiences.

Discussion was guided by the research aim and lasted between 50 – 120 minutes. The location was suggested by participants and included family homes, cafés and the University of Wollongong. Giving the men the opportunity to choose the physical location of the interview helped to create a relaxed, comfortable and friendly atmosphere. This supported the sharing of emotional and affective experience. Corporeal feminist concepts helped to heighten the researcher's awareness to relations of power, the senses, tone of voice, bodily gestures and emotions and affects.

The semi-structured interview created a 'gambling life narrative' that was staged in the following way:

1. Getting to know you
2. Gambling life narrative – getting to know more about gambling in your life
3. Mobile sports betting applications
4. Memorable stories
5. What are the pros and cons of sports betting apps – what do they enable you to achieve?

For reference, a copy the very early semi-structured interview guide is included at Appendix C. It is important to note that the guide was largely set aside after the first few semi-structured interviews. The researcher learned to follow-the-lead of participants while remaining alive to the research aim and key questions. This is reflected in the research diary:

#5 02/07/18

At 9am (just under 1hr) I will be meeting with Participant 5 out the front of the UOW library. I'm a male with fairly long hair and this will be the first interview where I do not have my hair tied-up. I remain aware about my Body and how I present myself / how I am perceived as being by the Participant (of which is out of my control - think subjectivity) affects the discussions in the Interview and the kinds of knowledge(s) that are co-produced. I'm wearing an old flannel button-up shirt, casual jeans and old pair of Vans (skate-shoes). Very casual and relaxed attire that is representative of my emotions heading into discussion #5.

As more and more data is collected, the interviews progress almost entirely without reference to a question guide.

I know my structure. I know how to encourage the participant to first recognize and second draw-on embodied memories that they have of sports betting.

Thinking about spatiality (places), bodies and underlying emotions that stimulate processes of territorialization forming the Gambling Assemblage.

Aware of subjectivities but How emotions are intersubjective as they align bodies with other bodies and spaces (conversely how they can distance) as they flow between bodies, resonating to different degrees.

It's a bit of a gloomy Monday morning and I recognize the Participant may take a little while to warm into things I'll start out nice and easy. - Background info. This has a duplicity (and more) that will allow the participant to feel more stimulated as they (hopefully) draw on embodied memories + experiences.

As part of the interview, participants were asked to sketch what the sports gambling platform meant for them, to list the places where they do and do not bet on sport; and to 'show-and-tell' how they use the sport gambling platform. The researcher participated in these exercises alongside the men as they sat together at a table and shared food or drink. The rapport sustained by food, drawing and 'show-and-tell' facilitated a more nuanced understanding of the emotional and affective intensities felt by men in different places where sport gambling platforms are included or excluded. Semi-structured interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Recordings are being securely kept at the University of Wollongong in accordance with the Australian National Ethical Code of Practice.

3.5. The solicited research diary

More recently, solicited research diaries are a key method across human geography (Dowling, 2016; Morrison, 2012). This has coincided with an increased interest and understanding of qualitative research as ethnographic and political (Watson & Till, 2010). The solicited research diary can produce knowledge that is embodied, performative and reflective of interactions between humans and more-than-humans (Lorimer, 2010; Srinivasan, 2013; Hodge et al., 2014). The diary provides a writing space to record the seemingly mundane every day that emerges relative to the assemblages of one's life (Morrison, 2010). In theory, the research diary can facilitate more nuanced understandings of our lives (Pitt, 2015) and capture life 'as it happens.'

All participants were invited to keep a 'research diary' to record their experiences with sports gambling platforms over one week. Alert to the possibilities that young men may never have kept a diary the invitation included the possibilities to send text and social media messages. The text message adds to the suite of online methods employed by human geographers into the research process. De Jong (2015) suggests that the temporality of fieldwork is altered by the ability of researchers to use social media and smartphones to access participant's in-the-moment experiences. Text messages can also capture emotional and embodied experiences that extend on the

knowledge produced in interviews (Myers, 2010). The text-message may even be used to 'deconstruct and understand the dialectic between sensuous experience and everyday life' (Bijoux and Myers, 2010). These innovative methods helped to bypass the challenges of face-to-face interaction and capture social life 'as it happens.' In addition, they helped the men to feel comfortable sharing emotional and affective experiences. This was because they were spatially distant from the researcher and the intensities of the research process.

Only two participants agreed to keep a computer-based diary, which they referred to as a "sports bet diary" and a "bet log." Insights were rich in emotional and affective details and were not limited by their textual form. The diary entries revealed how participation in the project had made the men more aware of gambling and what it achieved in their lives. The research diary helped the men to begin their own 'interpretive process' on the role of gambling in their lives.

10 participants agreed to share text and social media messages. In total, over 50 text messages were sent to the researcher. In this project, text and social media messaging enabled participants to share experiences as they happened. Participants were able to convey emotional and affective experiences of sports betting that were felt through the body as sociability with friends. The text messages also captured the heightened levels of joy and excitement that come with gambling on sport in certain spatial contexts, alongside feelings of risk and reward. For example, the following conversation was shared over text message between the researcher and 20-year-old Johnny:

Researcher: Are you watching it with your mates?

Johnny: Yeah man we are off to the pub

Researcher: Cool, enjoy! Could you give me an update on how your bets go?

Johnny: Yeah no worries mate of course! Had 2 bets, luckily went well, massive feeling of relief. Great night with the boys

Text and social media messages were extremely valuable tools to collect data and develop a nuanced understanding of the emotional and affective intensities that circulate in a sport gambling assemblage. They were a quick and easy way for the researcher and participants to communicate. They helped to transcend spatial divides and mimic many of the affordances of the sports gambling platform. Despite their simplicity and textual form, participants were motivated to provide rich insight on the emotional and affective intensities that are felt through the body of the person gambling, as well as those around them. Emojis heightened this.

3.6. The personal research diary

A personal research diary was kept throughout the study by the researcher. The personal research diary is aligned with theoretical feminist advocacy to act as a method that allows ongoing reflection of how the researcher is embedded in the social terrain of the 'field' (England, 1993). The personal research diary helped researchers to be alive to how their body is a research tool (Longhurst et al., 2008) while responding to debate on the inability of social science researchers to engage methods that sense the more-than-human. The extract from the researcher's diary on the proceeding page is representative of this:

29/06/2018.

Today at midday (or thereabouts) I will be conducting interview #4. This one is a little different - it is going to be done through the mobile telephone. I will have to be hyper-attentive to the voice of the participant for this is where the emotions generated by mobile sports betting apps will come through. I lose the body, the corporeal (transformations). But the voice is a part of the body to convey emotional intersubjectivities. By not being face-to-face, or body-to-body, I will be more able to take notes focusing on the Voice as it will obviously not have the effect of distracting the participant. I'm working as a Planner today and the interview is scheduled for my lunchbreak. I have already put a lot of thought into where the interview will take place (more like where is best to situate myself - remove myself from 'Planner Work' into the Space of qualitative researcher.). Thus I have pre-booked a meeting room on a different level of my workplace. This (I hope) will prevent intrusion by other 'corporate Bodies'. Also, as I will be recording the phone conversation, I desired a quiet place to ensure the audio-recording would be audible. This is why I chose to avoid the outside - such as the large green-space just 2 blocks from my office. Plus, the sun is shining after a few gloomy days so Bodies are likely to be out-and-about.

I lose materiality or context of the Human Body by doing the interview over the phone. Although I am alive to this, and alive to what the voice can afford.

- Let us see How this Unfolds.

Consequently, in this project the researcher recorded their changing relationship with the study and reflected on how their body was a research tool. The diary was particularly useful in the early stages of the research process because it was a safe space to record feelings of nervousness, anxiety, excitement and more.

16/06/2018
Just after interview.

The guy that I talked with today was less expressive of his emotions and interactions with other bodies verbally than participant 1 although he used hand gestures and his body more.

He regularly clenched his fist in a fist-pump like gesture, or used his arms when recounting time shared with his mates at the pub after betting on sports. Eye contact between myself and the participant became more sustained throughout the course of the interview and this is indicative of the rapport that we had established.

He was again a social user of the betting app, similarly to participant 1. This contrasts me but allows me to understand motivations and encouragements to use the app. I am learning about embodied experiences and I am actually sharing in them.

Other bodies had a major affect on the participant's choices to use or not use the app in particular spatial contexts and not others. The app was never used around family and at home. The app was always used around 'mate' bodies and in spaces where other bodies did gambling - i.e. the pub or the sharehouse or the racetrack.

We were slightly restricted for time as the participant had an exam on. I feel as though a lot of useful insight was shared, gained and co-created. Further reflection on the interview will help me to understand.

The researcher extended the personal research diary to include audio-recordings made before and after semi-structured interviews. The audio-recordings served much the same purpose as the research diary; to reflect on how knowledge was co-constructed through the interview. Moreover, they had a calming affect that helped the researcher to ground themselves in the circulating forces of emotion that are inherent in the initial meetings-up between participants and the researcher.

3.7. Rhyzoanalysis

Methodological debates, particularly those by feminist geographers, are concerned with questions of how to conduct analysis that is alive to the expressive and material content of an assemblage. Debates are informed by the ideas of Deleuze and Guattari, and they shape the method of analysis in this study. Taking a practical lead from Waitt and Welland (2017), a rhyzoanalysis or a kind of assemblage analysis informed how data was interpreted. Rhyzoanalysis works in relation to narrative analysis (Wiles et al. 2005) and Foucauldian discourse analysis (Waitt 2005). Rhyzoanalysis involved the thematic coding of actions, bodies, things and emotions, alongside ideas. This helped to understand embedded meanings and experiences of using sport gambling platforms. There were at least five implications for the analysis:

First, knowledge production became the outcome of a collaborative process between the researcher, supervisor, participants and things. These things included the research diary, smart phones, sport gambling platforms and emotion and affect. This meant that analysis was a highly reflexive process that did not have a defined start and end. To support the burgeoning reflexivity, the researcher acknowledged their positionality as a young male sports bettor and used text and social media messages to better understand how participants felt when they lost or won or included sport gambling platforms. This is also reflected in the use of the research diary.

Second, the sport gambling platform was conceived as having capacity to alter the working arrangements that comprise places. These places included the family home,

workplace and pub, in addition to the bodies that constitute them. Analysis paid attention to what was said, but also how it was said (see Wiles et al., 2005). The rhyzoanalysis drew out the spatial and material components of the sports betting assemblage, that included body gestures and anxious, excited or joyful expressions. This was used to interpret how spatial and material components differentiate relative to bodily space. The component parts of the analysis helped the researcher to be alive to the unfolding intensities, emotions and materialities that flow because of sport gambling platforms. This is captured in the research diary:

The participant was using the betting App as I drove him home from the University after our 2 hour long interview/discussion/hang out session.

Because he was using the betting App, he actually gave me ~~no~~ wrong directions to his home as I was driving.

The participant lost the bet as we were parked outside his house. I saw his facial expressions change. He became distracted ~~too~~ because of the affective intensities of the emotions that he felt. He exited the car, gaze averted to the screen of the mobile phone.

How different things would have felt if he had won. The atmosphere, he would have felt 'good'. How he felt because of the sports betting App (the result of his bet) definitely resonated through me and has left a mark. We felt the affective intensities of emotions generated by the app together.

By losing, I could feel him drifting away from me. We couldn't celebrate and express happiness together.

Arriving back @ Uni after driving with the participant.

Third, rhyzoanalysis conceives the body as a research tool (Waitt and Welland, 2017). It recognizes that emotional and affective intensities are usually felt and not spoken. The rhyzoanalysis conducted in this study complimented an awareness of the senses and embedded analysis into the research as part of the knowledge production process (Pink, 2008). The analysis included the researcher's own experiences using sport gambling platforms. This helped to understand the multiple more-than-human agencies, performances, engagements, embodiments, images, emotions and affects with, through and as a participant (see Dowling, 2017). This worked to re-insert the researcher into the stages of interpretation and analysis through memory and corporeality when referring to audio-recordings, transcripts, research diaries and text and social media messages. This level of understanding is again captured in the research diary:

23/07/2018.

The weekend just passed was very interesting in terms of experiences that I can take into this project. There was so much that happened when I actually think about it - the most challenging aspect is attempting to write it all down.

I had a friend come over on Saturday. We had some drinks and 'went out'. When at my place, hanging out was initially rather stagnant. My friend was on his phone a lot. I decided to add sportsbetting into the fray to change the atmosphere. We began using our betting apps, placing small wagers on the 'dogs' (greyhounds). I felt things change. We began having more fun, our bodies became more alive as our discussion began to liven up immensely and we agitated with excitement at the prospect of winning money (no matter how small) and we were pulled together as mates, making and remaking our friendship. I explicitly remember moving around more with excitement, back-slapping my friend.

Bringing sportsbetting apps into that space on Saturday night completely changed how we did 'drinking and hanging out.' For sure the high or the rush we shared continued to reverberate through our bodies as we boarded the train and experienced a 'high out' in Nollongong.

Fourth, discourse analysis helped to identify how emergent themes about sport gambling platforms may be linked to cultural norms. Discourse analysis as part of rhyzoanalysis thinks about how social power is produced through knowledge and how practices start to be shaped because of cultural norms (see Waitt, 2010). For example, the cultural norms surrounding what it means to be a white, straight and sporty young man in the Australian context. Rhyzoanalysis helped to show how life histories and social realities are made and remade relationships with gambling, sport and gender. This branch provided a route to better understanding the cultural norms underpinning verbal and embodied commentary about corporeal experience when using sport gambling platforms in particular spatial contexts. Discourse analysis was assembled with rhyzoanalysis because it was suspected that performances related to using sport gambling platforms were interwoven with societal 'truths' about masculinity and gambling.

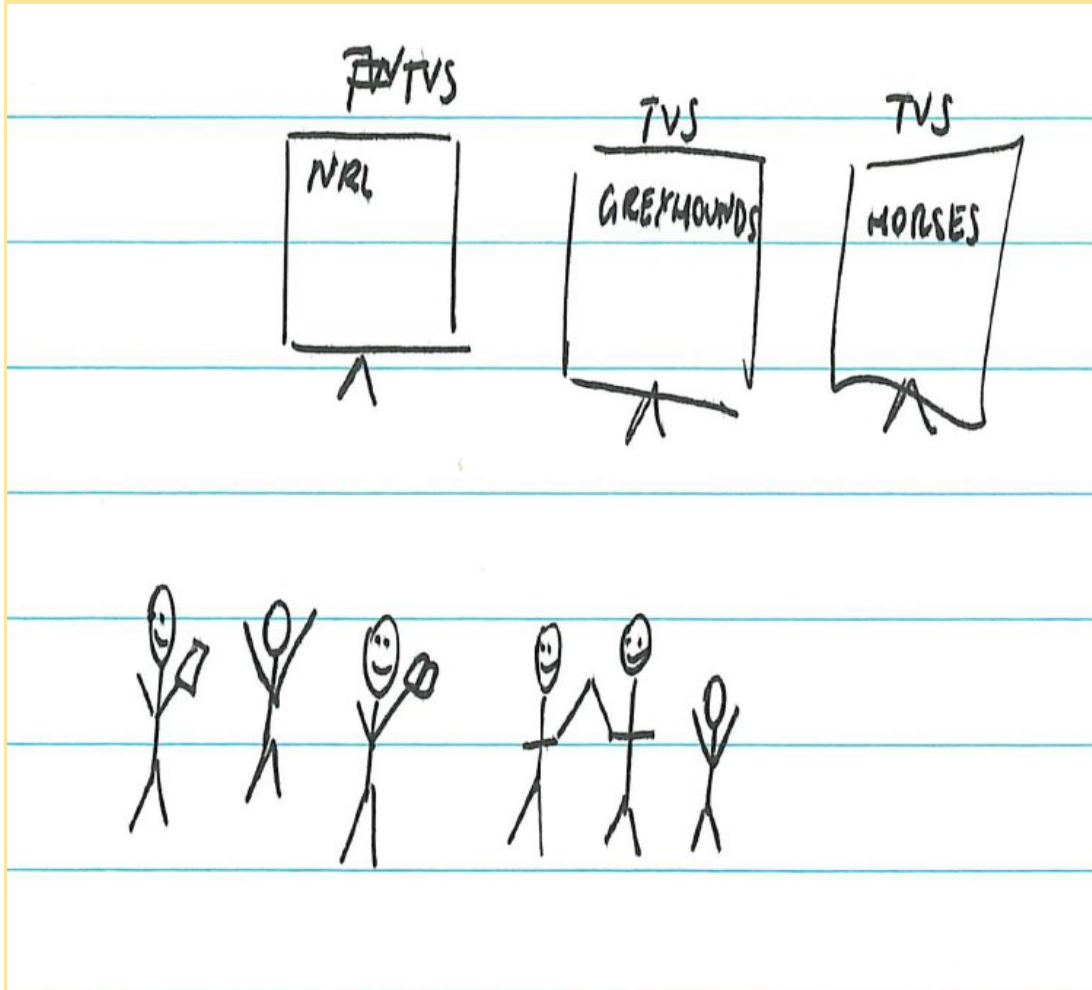
The rhyzoanalysis was more artisanal than scientific and removed from being statistical (see Hoggart et al., 2002). It helped to understand how certain knowledges and performances become privileged over others and the role of space. More than providing insight to a participant's worldview (Waitt, 2010), the researcher was able to become alongside the men and the research process. The researcher lived the emotional and affective intensities of sport gambling platforms. What emerged from this approach to analysis was a capacity to understand the embodied and affective aspects of everyday experiences mediated by sport gambling platforms.

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter offers a justification for the mixed method qualitative research design. It illustrated how the methods mapped the agency of the social and material dimensions of sports gambling platforms. Alive to methodological debates within feminist scholarship, attention was given to the co-construction of knowledge, the standpoint of the researcher, the capacities of the body as a research tool, the fleeting qualities of affect and the importance of narrating embodied experience. Hence, a mixed-method qualitative research project was designed that incorporated semi-structured

interviews alongside a personal research diary, solicited computer diaries and text and social media messages. This combination of methods not only conveyed insights to the meanings and experiences of sport gambling platforms for young men but also generated moments of reflection upon a practice that had become habituated. One outcome of the methods was a heightened awareness among some men of why they bet on sports. In the following chapters, an interpretation is offered that draws upon the rhyzoanalysis and the research questions to better understand where young Australian men aged 18 – 30 years include or exclude sport gambling platforms.

Chapter 4 – Where do young men most enjoy using sport gambling platforms?



A sketch from a semi-structured interview (Lyle, 19-years-old).

4.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to answer the question: 'Where do young men most enjoy sport gambling platforms?' To offer an insight to this question, the chapter is divided into four sections: the pub, the footy trip away, the mates' home and the bedroom. An interpretation is offered to why the sport gambling platform becomes incorporated into these places by drawing on corporeal feminist concepts of subjectivity, assemblage, territory and affective atmosphere. Alive to arguments that gambling behaviour is transitory, unstable and multidirectional (Abbott, 1999, 2004; LaPlante et al., 2008; Reith and Dobbie, 2012; Slutske, 2003) this chapter points to the importance of thinking spatially. The emotional and affective intensities stimulated by sport gambling platform are felt differently depending on an individual's context and subjectivity. After McDowell (2003), it is useful to think of masculinities as strategic or as a performance that emerges in response to social and material expressive forces. Sports gambling platforms fold together with men, sports and places that are produced, occupied, populated, dominated and controlled by men (Gorman-Murray and Hopkins, 2014). The process makes and remakes what it means to be a man in different spatial contexts.

4.2. The pub or club feels good

Bryan is 23-years-old and originally from a country town in western New South Wales. He studies law at university and returns to the family home during university holidays to work on the family farm. He lives in a shared household near Wollongong with other men that he identifies with. They are all from the 'country'. For Bryan, the sport gambling platform is integral to configuring his weekly routine. Sports betting reinforces his subjectivity as an Australian country 'bloke' interested in cricket and football. The gambling platform heightens his interest in football matches and supports the kind of relationships he has with his male friends. These relationships fill a gap left by his family. Bryan said:

I use it for footy tipping every week. So, on a Thursday morning I will do one. Just on my phone, wherever I am. Normally in the morning just scroll through, do a multi. Probably do a couple multis. And then um, yeah that is probably all the app work I do unless we go to the pub and I have money on my phone... at the pub you know the atmosphere, the pub and the races have the same sort of gambling atmosphere like you know it's all: "Fucking cmon yea!"

Bryan most enjoys using the sport gambling platform as a social activity in the pub or club with his friends, drinking alcohol and watching sport (Reith and Dobbie, 2012). Most participants spoke about similar kinds of affective atmospheres that help to generate language, gestures and practices of sporting masculinities. The sport gambling platform accentuates emotional and affective intensities that are felt as a sense of mateship (Anderson, 2010). The pub assemblage includes the sport gambling platform alongside bodies, space and cultural and historical discourses. Bryan shows that emotions are not "something that 'we have'", but rather "how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the 'I' and the 'we' are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others" (Ahmed, 2004: 10). Accordingly, the intensity of joyful emotions generated by sport gambling platforms sustain gendered spaces and shape understandings of the self as man and mate.

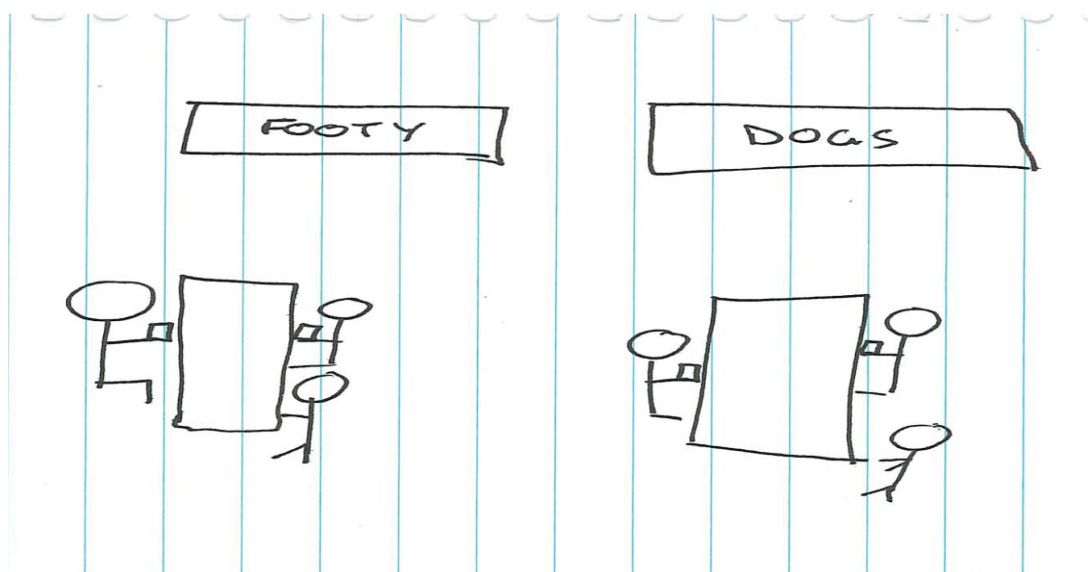
Johnny is a 20-year-old man studying international studies at university and living at his family home. The only sport he continues to participate in is surfing, and he most enjoys watching horse and greyhound racing with his friends at the pub on the weekend. The sport gambling assemblage at the pub helps him to relax and socialise with his friends away from the surveillance of his parents. The way Johnny consumes gambling suggests that sport betting is now a component of modernity's lifestyle of consumption (Gordon et al., 2015). Johnny felt love because of the circulating emotional and affective intensities that created an atmosphere at the pub:

Definitely the atmosphere of the pub I prefer because I get to go on the dogs and it is quick, the dogs are over like that. I love it. That is the bad one for me at the moment haha

Johnny expresses love directed at the 'dogs' because of the sport gambling platform. Love is an intense emotion with resonating affects that helps Johnny to create the sense of towardness and togetherness that sustains the collective that feels like 'mates.' Much like Bryan, Johnny shows how the sport gambling platform stimulates the circulation of emotion that he names as 'the atmosphere' (see Anderson, 2010). Johnny said the following when asked about what makes a place most enjoyable to use sport gambling platforms:

Aw, just the environment. Like at the pub it is there on the screen so it is like, I can't explain it, it is just like, I dunno the environment and the atmosphere of it. like if you are with all of your mates it is like "yeah, on the dogs"

Johnny is alive to the emotional and affective intensities that emerge alongside the sport gambling assemblage. He struggles to put the emotional and affective intensities felt through his body into words (Waitt and Welland, 2017). Sport gambling platforms help to sustain emotional closeness between bodies through the possibility of winning or losing at a time when young men are distanced from a similar closeness within their family. Sport gambling platforms foster and open a space of emotional connection and exchange between young men. What Johnny feels when sports betting becomes an expression of mateship:



A sketch from a semi-structured interview (Johnny, 21-years-old).

The pub or club in Australia share similar areas that are frequented by men, usually after work or on weekends. They can drink alcohol, gamble and socialise. Like Johnny and Bryan, 24-year-old accounting student Rod felt that the best place to use a sports gambling platform was 'down the club.' The emotional and affective joys of sports betting are tied to and exacerbate the normative social character of pubs and clubs. A common thread linking all participants was an understanding of the pub or club as the location where people hang out together to watch sport. Sports gambling platforms are included into the assemblage and work to heighten experiences:

I would probably say the best place was down the club, because you are around people... you have got the sport there and you have got mates around you and they all know that you have a bet so it is a bit more exciting if you win.

Given the social norms of the pub and club there is no disapproval of using sport gambling platforms. Performances of sporting masculinities are historically and culturally accepted. Drinking alcohol, socialising and gambling on sport are social norms taken-for-granted (Butler, 1993) that always occur somewhere (Bell et al., 1994). In the context of those who sports bet at the pub or club, winners hold a privileged position. This relates to socio-cultural constructs of masculinity that interrelate with the pub. 24-year-old Rod said:

It was better when I was at the pub. Even if I was winning smaller amounts of money, it is a better experience because you are around other people

.....

It is always nice when you win when you are by yourself at home but at the same time there is no one there to enjoy it with, to celebrate with

.....

I don't think I had as much enjoyment winning when I was by myself. It was still nice but it definitely heightened when you are around your mates or with other people.

.....

it is nice when you win a big amount of money... you can show your bet "look, look" I made this amount of money and this came through and it won in the last three seconds

Rod suggests that the sport gambling platform is incorporated into the pub or club assemblage to heighten the thrill of being and becoming a spectator, particularly when with friends and especially if winning bets. Folded through Rod's experience is how masculinities are played out in different spaces and how these spaces remake the experience of masculinity (see van Hoven and Horschelmann, 2005). Winning and losing money is mediated (see Armstrong et al., 2017) by emotional and affective intensities. The positive emotional and affective intensities Rod feels may also increase his gambling. This may mean that gambling relates to self-esteem (Rosenthal, 1993; Taylor and Brown, 1998) because feeling good in the environment is tied to increased participation. In this case, joy, sporting masculinities and sport gambling platforms work together to achieve positive emotional and affective intensities.

19-year old Matt also reterritorializes the pub and club as a space for performances of sporting masculinities and subjectivity as a gambler. Matt works as a labourer on a construction site and referred to himself as an 'aspiring AFL footballer.' Matt explains how in the context of the pub or club he does not think of himself as vulnerable. Instead, he feels as if he is part of a large collective. The pub assemblage brings together ideas, people, sport, vibe, sports betting and sport gambling platforms. His feelings are emergent qualities of an assemblage that includes gambling platforms:

Sometimes I go by myself... But I like the old people, like I love, I can't wait to be old like I can't wait... and I mean, yeah I like the vibe they give off they just love it. ... it is so passionate! Then like it is kind of funny because they all just make jokes and it is all, I feel like everyone can get along. You know what I mean.

Matt spoke to the researcher like they were someone he could relate to. This is more nuanced and extends understanding beyond what can be afforded with quantitative

survey methodologies like used in psychology. Matt most enjoys using sport gambling platforms at places where it is unremarkable, acceptable and normal. The felt intensities of the atmosphere or the 'vibe' that is 'given off' by the older males at the pub or club envelopes Matt in a protective bubble where he feels safe. Matt can remake himself as a man because he is able to freely perform sporting masculinities that are constrained when at his family home. This is like experiences of young African refugee men who play soccer in Australia (Evers, 2010). The sport gambling assemblage enables Matt to feel happy, experience fun, to feel included and engage in social interactions with other men.

4.3. The footy-trip away

The sport gambling platform became particularly important for young men when they transitioned from junior to senior sporting grades. 18-year-old men regularly play against men ten years older in high-impact sports such as rugby league. The footy-trip away at the end of the season is one of the most significant events of the year. The young men survive the first year of and are welcomed as truly part of the brotherhood that constituted the team. The men drink alcohol, socialise, spend money and gamble on sport. Sport gambling platforms assemble alongside all these human and more-than-human variables to create a sense of emotional connection. This formed alongside identities related to sporting masculinities. At the same time, the footy-trip away mediated the level of risk involved with sports betting. 19-year-old Lyle lives with his family and studies medicine at university. He reflected on the experiences of the footy-trip away:

We had the footy-trip away, we would always go to the 'local' (club). So there are tv's and like everyone had their gambling apps out and it was betting on the dogs and the horses... when we were down there I got like 5 or 6 in a row and I was only doing like 2 or 3 dollar bets so then I'm up like 30 bucks or something so I'm like "aw yeah I'm up 30 bucks I'll start doing 5 and 10 dollar bets"... I had about 80 (dollars in the sport gambling platform) and I ended up

going back to about 30 and I'm just going "far out" like that happened so quickly

Lyle suggests that sport gambling platforms in the context of footy-trips away encourage high-frequency gambling which can quickly become out of control (Carstén et al., 2018; Browne et al., 2016a, 2016b; Langham et al., 2016). A succession of wins appears to work in relation to an accumulation of losses (Gordon et al., 2015). The assemblage achieves an atmosphere that makes sport gambling appear unremarkable, normal and expected (Armstrong et al., 2017). While it appears that situational and structural factors promote gambling at the pub or club (Deans et al., 2010), the risk and the harm of gambling can be mediated by joy, even if upon reflection the feeling had changed.

Charlie is 20-years-old and lives with his family in a Wollongong suburb while studying history at university. He played sport until it became too competitive but still enjoys watching sport in combination with drinking alcohol and being with his friends at the pub. Charlie most enjoyed sport gambling platforms in the context of the footy-trip away. Charlie and a few of his close friends were able to leave the family home and perform sporting masculinities that felt right at the time. The bus trips were particularly enjoyable places to use sport gambling platforms and they helped to configure bonds of mateship found within sport (Waitt and Clifton, 2015; Evers, 2010). However, the pub was never far from mind:

Bus trips, I would say bus trips with the boys is fun. Because like, aw, I mean when your mate is on a horse, it is like, it is funny like and you are watching him get worked up and when you are on a horse it is not funny at all. Like, you are shitting pants but at the pub I mean I dunno you sort of feel more included I would say, like you feel what they are feeling and then you get a better understanding, not having a bet and watching guys go "arghhh" like that sort of thing

Within the context of trips away with sports teams unfolding on the bus, using a sport gambling platform stimulates circulating forces of emotion and affect that evoke laughter, joy, excitement, risk and angst. Charlie shows how these intensities flow through bodies, changing them and bringing them closer together in some social and cultural environments (Reith and Dobbie, 2012). The footy trip-away, the bus and the pub are each reterritorialized as masculine places to use sport gambling platforms. Charlie sustains the bonds of mateship and sense of closeness by using the sport gambling platform.

4.4. Share houses and friend's houses

Um my favourite place to use it.... I would do most of it at the club but I would say at my friend's house just because you can have your fun and all that kind of stuff and you are not getting judged by anyone and you are not like doing any, you can do whatever you want when you win kind of thing

19-year-old Lyle constructs a friend's place as comfortable and safe. His anxieties about how he acts at the club are absent when at a friend's place. Like the pub or club, the friend's place assemblage works as a space where men can socialise together and perform sporting masculinities through watching sport, drinking alcohol and gambling (Waitt and Clifton, 2015; Gordon et al., 2015). When the friend's place is void of the bodies of mothers and girlfriends, the sporting masculinity that emerges from a sport gambling assemblage takes on a privileged position. The gambling platform may help some young men to feel more comfortable, engage with others and ultimately feel better about their sense of self in places where sporting masculinities are comfortably performed. The sport gambling platform becomes a (normal) part of the working arrangement that constitute where they are likely to spend time with each other. Lyle's experiences along with those of other men, relate to the formation of masculine identities that respond to and shape social and material circumstances. The performances mediate and negotiate relations with others (see Hopkins, 2006; Nayak 2006; Noble 2007; Winslow, 2001).

21-year-old business student Lewis illustrates how the shared household and friend's place is constituted by working arrangements that include the sport gambling platform. Lewis shows how the gambling platform becomes ordinary when used in his share house, but also the most enjoyable. This achieves the shared household as the best place to bet on sport. Ultimately, the sport gambling platform helps make the territory of the friend's place, that brings bodies closer together to achieve mateship. Lewis and his housemates are all from country New South Wales. They felt comfortable performing the rural and agricultural masculinities at the share house because the atmosphere felt safer than when at university (see Pini, 2006). Jonny shared the following about the most enjoyable place to use a sport gambling platform:

At home, the share house. When you are around other people doing the same thing. You know because you are talking about it and there is no distraction except what you have in front of you. So, I would definitely say around your mates in particular.

The sports gambling platform is included in the shared household assemblage and achieves mateship that is enacted in part through watching, talking and betting on sport. Joy and happiness emerge through the experience men share in relation to using betting platforms. The men share embodied experiences and reconstitute themselves as masculine. This is achieved by forms of content and forms of expression that are assembled by the emotional and affective intensities of sports betting when situated in the shared household (Braidotti, 2002; Waitt and Stanes, 2016).

Anthony is 25-years-old and works as a plumber in the Wollongong region. He lives with in a shared household with friends and plays rugby league. Anthony enjoys watching sport at his place or at the pub with his friends on the weekend. They enjoy drinking alcohol and using sport gambling platforms. Anthony was asked about what makes a place most enjoyable to use a sport gambling platform. He relates enjoyment to an atmosphere or environment of acceptability:

It is just the environment I guess yeah like all of those things. The environment, I will be at a mates house and then like if it is night time, like a few beers and there is a soccer game on that night like if there is a lot of people there and we are all keen on it yeah that, all of that definitely contributes.

Anthony illustrates that using the sport gambling platform as part of a weekend assemblage is in a working arrangement with bodies, time of day, alcohol, sport and a keenness or an atmosphere of excitement at places like the pub, club or mate's place. This stimulates emotional and affective intensities that are felt as joy. Sports gambling platforms help to achieve a sense of togetherness and closeness that further heightens joy in certain space.

4.5. The bedroom

The bedroom provided a private space for some men to enjoy using sport gambling platforms. Jamal is 25-years-old and has lived in Wollongong studying and working as a support worker for four years. Jamal is originally from Nigeria and he does not have many close friends in Australia. Jamal responded with the following when asked about the most enjoyable place to use a sports gambling platform:

Maybe my room, yeah. My own personal space. When I am the most relaxed, I can check everything. Make sure you are doing the best bet

Rather than contributing to and enhancing a sense of closeness with other bodies that helps to sustain mateship, the bedroom envelopes Jamal to provide similar feelings of security. Bringing sport gambling platforms into the working relationship of bedrooms helped to constitute a heightened awareness of Jamal's sense of self. The bedroom has been suggested to be a site where young men can feel as if they achieve many things (see Filiault, 2007). When assembled with sport gambling platforms, the bedroom achieved joy that boosted self-esteem. Jamal said that '*my head needs to be kind of open to bet*' and that he doesn't drink alcohol or sports bet at the pub. The

bedroom is constituted as a personal space free from distraction that enables Jamal to feel the required level of skill and acumen to gamble (Gordon et al., 2015). Jamal contrasts men who like to use sports gambling platforms at pubs, clubs or mate's places where there is alcohol, noise and distraction. The sport gambling assemblage achieves something different for Jamal.

19-year-old Matt described the role of the sport gambling platform alongside his bedroom at the family home. For Matt, one of the most enjoyable places to sports bet is:

Up at home, so I would say my bedroom... I used to put the TAB on and have a punt while I was finding techno music. And then I would look up, because it is like 25 (minutes) in between each (race)... then you are like "aw sweet, I got heaps of time"

Matt spoke of his bedroom as a place where he feels comfortable, able to do whatever he wants without being judged and as a space to reinforce a constitution of himself as a 'punter.' He shows how temporal dimensions shift when using sport gambling platforms in addition to music platforms. The bedroom operates as a kind of protective bubble as Matt closes his door, turns the music up and immerses himself in the experience, which is heightened with sports betting. Matt shows how the sport gambling platform has become embedded into the everyday as part of the bedroom assemblage. Sports betting is as common as listening to music. The personal and social risks of sport betting may go unnoticed because Matt is hidden away from the moral surveillance of his family (see Bellringer, 2017; Catford, 2012; Deans et al., 2016; Hing et al., 2017; Thomas and Thomas, 2015).

24-year-old accounting student Rod assembled the sport gambling platform alongside the bedroom to achieve something else. Driven by joyful emotional and affective intensities, Rod described how being alone in his bedroom felt like it improved chances of winning. Like Jamal and Matt, Rod felt free from distraction and achieved a sense of clarity. At the same time, being in the bedroom removed Rod from the

surveillance of his parents. A boundary is blurred between a place that is 'enjoyable' and a place that is 'suitable:'

The best was probably times when I was alone. Because then I would be, well I thought in my head I would be in a clear headspace. I would be able to sit down then, do my research and go through, work out the numbers, how much I should put on and what odds I can get. That sort of thing. I didn't like to bet I suppose if I was rushed or if I felt stressed because I knew that I wouldn't be making a right decision... or if I had certain people around as well, so yeah mum or dad. So, when I was in my room alone, I would say it would have been the most suitable... I would feel more confident

Rod acknowledges the structures in society that position using gambling platforms in the family as taboo, while showing how the working arrangements of the family home are altered by gambling (Valentine and Hughes, 2012). Rod illustrates the affective capacity of bodies as he feels higher amounts of stress when around parents. This works to separate and bring together.

4.5. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to address the question: 'Where do young men most enjoy using sport gambling platforms?'. The thematic analysis identified four locations: the pub, a mate's house, footy trips and bedrooms. The first three places confirm sports betting as tied to performances of sporting masculinity (Gordon et al., 2015). This analysis confirms previous arguments that men are accustomed to separating their maleness into different boxes (Freeman, 1997: 323). The young men in this study illustrate that the gambling platform is integral to performing understanding of sporting masculinities and intensifying bonds of mateship and sociality. As argued by Anderson (2010), there is a multiplicity of human and more-than-human agencies that are in working arrangement. This gives certain places a specific 'affective atmosphere' that helps affirm the bonds of mateship. Including sport gambling platforms into the

bedroom presents as a transition from mate to gambler. To become a gambler required concentration and thinking space not possible within the performances of sporting masculinities that configure the space of the pub or mate's house.

Chapter 5 – Where are sport gambling platforms excluded?

Do	Don't-
Sharehouse (with & without)	Home
Pub (with)	Uni
Races (with)	Around family

Where you use	Where do you not
Pub-with mates	Home
Mates house	Anywhere by myself
	Uni
	Work

Do use	Don't, never considered.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Club → ALWAYS WITH OTHERS - friend's house → USUALLY WITH 1 FRIEND - Trip away → EITHER BY MYSELF OR IF A FRIEND'S THERE IT SPURS ME MORE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Girlfriend's house - My house
<div>Before Conversation</div> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Desensitised state - 	<div>After Conversation</div> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Realisation of a bad habit - Perspectives align

Lists created by 20-year-old Charlie, 19-year-old Matt 19 and 22-year-old Tony

5.1. Introduction

Given that mobile sport gambling platforms may be used anywhere and at any time, the aim of this chapter is to better understand the process of exclusion which operates alongside that of inclusion. The chapter highlights that the processes of exclusion and inclusion involve place, emotions, affect and negotiating spatially situated masculine subjectivities. The exclusion and inclusion of sport gambling platforms emerged in places where masculine subjectivities were negotiated. These places included the family home, the girlfriend's place, work and university. The possible or actual inclusion of gambling platforms in these places activated negative or conflicting emotions. While the positive affordances of sport gambling platforms in the home sometimes related to new forms of socialisation with partners or parents, it also caused some men to express feelings of guilt and anxiety about the kinds of identities configured by sport gambling platforms. The four parts of this chapter illustrate how the processes of exclusion and inclusion operate in collaboration with processes of becoming a responsible boyfriend, son, student and employee. A more nuanced understanding of subjectivity as constituted by sport gambling assemblages emerges.

5.2. Being a responsible boyfriend

Young men with girlfriends expressed some of the anxieties about what gambling applications "do" to their subjectivities when becoming boyfriends (see Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Sport gambling platform evoked the performances of sporting masculinity reserved for places like the pub, club or friend's place (see Evers, 2010). This was not a desired outcome when being a responsible boyfriend. By separating the sport gambling platform from the boyfriend-girlfriend assemblage and vice versa, the men could continue to feel good about themselves. This is what Lyle had to say about his girlfriend:

... my girlfriend. She's always helpful, like even with gambling and that. We will put \$5 each into the apps and it's just like a fun experience. When it's a little amount of money kind of thing. She is still a mediator about that kind of stuff though. Like she hates consistently doing it and says that doing it every time is just a waste of your time and money.

Being a responsible boyfriend means that sport gambling platforms become a different 'kind of stuff.' They are folded together with ideas of waste-of-time and money. Contrary to the suggestion of others (Deans et al., 2010; Derevensky et al., 2010; Hing et al., 2014, 206; Rockloff and Dyer, 2007) the low and moderate risk men who gambled in this study were hyper-conscious about money. They did not discuss sport gambling platforms as making money more intangible because online banking platforms had already achieved this. Perhaps this is a point of distinction between subcategories of gamblers. It is important not to forget that Lyle's performances and inclusion/exclusion of sport gambling platforms varied spatially. Feeling acceptance was very important:

Just like acceptance. Like I don't talk, if I were to talk about it with (girlfriend) her I would get criticized kind of thing.

Lyle is attuned to the absence of an atmosphere of 'acceptance' when around his girlfriend. The way his body folds with his girlfriend's and space exclude the sport gambling platform. This extends the work by Ho (2017) who found that acceptance plays a pivotal role in young men's decision to sports bet. Lyle is alive to the negative emotional and affective intensities that may circulate between himself and his girlfriend in the presence of the gambling platform. To avoid a rupture, the sport gambling platform is excluded. The power of the physical presence of his girlfriend is clear by how just thinking about including sport gambling platforms evoke a sense of unease.

The sport gambling platform has potential to destabilise Lyle's identity as responsible boyfriend, working to potentially rupture the relationship. When Lyle's girlfriend visits

his family home, negative emotional and affective intensities emerge using from sport gambling platforms. The performance of sporting masculinity that emerges is unwanted:

But like the betting part, she doesn't like basketball so that is just, like if I am watching basketball she is already in a bad mood. Well not a bad mood but she's just going: "Aw great" like "Why did I come over or whatever" but then if I am betting on it then she, yeah, she doesn't, she doesn't react well with that

Lyle demonstrates that the identity of responsible boyfriend conflicts with the masculine achievements that are associated with sports betting. This indicates that subjectivities emerge in relation to human and more-than-humans. Or, as "the actualization of the immanent encounter between subjects, entities and forces which are apt mutually to affect and exchange parts with one another" (Braidotti, 2002: 68).

Like Lyle, Michael excludes the sport gambling platform around his fiancée. Michael is 28-years-old, studies computer science at university and lives with his fiancée in a suburb of Wollongong. The dislike of sport gambling platforms by Michael's fiancée is enough to threaten his identity as a boyfriend:

Michael: I think actually my fiancée really doesn't like gambling at all... so that probably has a pretty big effect on the betting apps.

Researcher: So, do you, or have you used the betting app at home?

Michael: Not when she (fiancée) is there... Yeah, I think normally, I wouldn't use it with her anyway. Like I would either do it alone or if I was with some mates. And normally that is not as negative in my opinion. She might not like it but I don't think it is a problem when you are with a few mates and you want to bet on something... I don't use it at home if Jess (fiancée) is there, if I

am on my own I will... If I am at the bar with friends as well I definitely would use it, there would be a different feeling of doing it as well

Michael is affected by a circulating force of unease when the sport gambling platform is assembled with his fiancée. The sport gambling assemblage pulls Michael further towards sporting masculinity, reterritorializing his fiancée as an outsider. When low and moderate risk sports bettors are in close spatial proximity to those who are not part of the community (see Gordon et al., 2015) or in places not yet normalised by sports betting, sport gambling platforms are excluded. Michael's exclusion of the sport gambling platform when at home with his girlfriend provides a clue into the numerous performances that unfold during day-to-day life in being and becoming a man in Australia. Further, place is open and not static (Massey, 2005).

5.3. The family home assemblage to achieve 'good son'

Lewis: It is probably how my parents said about it because my mum has always hated gambling and she has always told me she hates it so I feel a bit guilty doing it at home

When 21-year-old Lewis returns to his family home in country NSW on break from his business degree, the sport gambling platform is excluded. He is not alone, as being a good son is important for the men in this study. These men show how the dislike of gambling from a mother-figure shapes the attitudes, interests, personalities and behaviours of their children (Derevensky et al., 1996). The men show how this is confined to particular places. For Lewis, just thinking about the sport gambling platform at the family home stimulates strong emotional and affective intensities that are felt as guilt. Guilt is felt through Lewis' body as an affective intensity that challenges the working relationship of the family home (Valentine and Hughes, 2012), alongside the identity of 'good' son. Lewis shows the capacity for his body to be affected by his mother and the family home. The forces are strong enough for most men in this study to exclude the sport gambling platform from the familial home.

20-year-old Charlie also spoke about how his mother dislikes sports betting. The emotional and affective intensities associated with his mother's dislike of gambling show how Charlie's subjectivity changes through intra-actions with social and material worlds (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). In addition, because sport gambling platforms are readily accessible on smart phone devices, sports betting leaks into the family home to some degree (Torrens and Goggins, 2014):

In terms of my immediate family, no. Mum is probably really against it. They are definitely not gamblers or bettors. I would never talk about it around my mum she probably doesn't even know that I bet, or that I have... she has never been into that. Like she has always preserved her money, don't risk it.... If she was at home I would just not do it ... in the chance that it would happen with my mum and step-dad, like it wouldn't but hypothetically it would be a lot different. I wouldn't show as much passion

Charlie understands gambling as taboo in his parental home and shows how gambling can challenge the working arrangements that constitute family (Valentine and Hughes, 2012). In the presence of his mother, the performances brought about by sport gambling platforms are unwanted and avoided. Charlie reterritorializes his mother and step-father as not gamblers or bettors and the family home as different to the pub, club, shared household or friend's place. Charlie confirms previous research that suggests that gambling undermines family life (Thomas and Thomas, 2005). Despite the normalization of sport gambling platforms (Gordon et al., 2015; Reith and Dobbie, 2012; Westberg, 2017), the identity of 'good' son is related to powerful emotions and affects that keep sports betting separate.

24-year-old Rod included the sport gambling platform into the family home assemblage. However, the emotional and affective intensities of doing so were markedly different from those at the pub or club. Rod did not enjoy speaking about sports betting when in the same space as his parents, indicating that the performances of sporting masculinity related to sport gambling platforms are undesirable. Rod shows how new gambling technologies capitalise on the mobile phone's intimate,

portable and flexible affordances (Torrens and Goggins, 2006, 2010) as he hides it in the family home:

I masked it a lot because I didn't want the family to know what I was betting on and how much I was betting so I would still get excited but I wouldn't go over the top because I didn't want them to find out... the reaction that I had around the family was completely different to the reaction I would have around friends

Rod illustrates that decisions to include or exclude sport gambling platforms are multifaceted and comprised of bodies, materials, spaces, places, language and discourse (Gordon et al., 2018). The arrangement of the family home meant that Rod felt like a closeted gambler who engaged strategies to avoid suspicion and surveillance from his parents. This could work to heighten the risk of personal harm, indicating the differing agency of sport gambling platforms in varied social contexts. This plays out in Rod's fear of being constituted an addicted, problematic or at-risk gambler by his family. Rod monitored his emotions, language and bodily gestures in the family home and when around his parents. The corporeal and incorporeal transformations flowing from gambling platforms felt as if they were not accepted.

Rod provided a rich contrasted account of his different experiences using sport gambling platforms. The experience resonates with emotional and affective intensities and illustrates how Rod's corporeal transformations and performances are spatially variable:

At the club you are more likely to be having a few beers which always adds to the excitement. So high-fiving, clapping, hugging, all that sort of stuff. At home it was more just, a little win inside. You are like: "Aw that feels good," and then sort of walk away, do a fist-pump in your room or something away from that connection, like your family. And then I suppose on the other end when you lost, it would affect the family more because if you lose at the pub you sort of just go "yeah, whatever" it is more about everyone is there for a good time and then you bring it home with you. So, I was probably a bit more short with my

parents and with the family. I was a bit more upset at home rather than if I was around mates at the club.

Rod shows how places may be conceived as assembled with different expressive and material forms (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). The club is reterritorialized by interworkings between sport, gambling, alcohol and mates. The family is reterritorialized by the absence of such things. The emergent and affective atmosphere of the two places evokes different things (Anderson, 2010) and this regulates the corporeal transformations associated with winning or losing bets. The affective atmosphere of the club is felt as inclusive because Rod is in close spatial proximity to other men that similarly enjoy socialising, drinking alcohol and betting on sports. The arrangement acts like a protective bubble that may even mediate some of the negative implications of being a gambler (see Bellringer, 2017; Catford, 2012; Hing et al., 2017). Even when losing at the club, emotions circulate and bring people together through what might be felt as sympathy and mateship. The family home could stimulate the risk of personal harm. This is evident in Rod's feeling of withdrawal, sadness, frustration and anger. Rod also placed himself alone in his bedroom. Rod went on to show that these emotional and affective intensities related to including sport gambling platforms at the family home and how they achieve different things:

The atmosphere at home was definitely more tense when I wasn't winning. But then say if I was winning, I would be a completely different person, I would be more happy, engage with people more, talk more with mum and dad, ask them about their day. But then if it was going poorly they would be able to pick that up pretty quickly and I would spend more time in my room... if looked back at it now if I lived there, looked at all the places, if I sat at the desk or at my chair it would bring back some memories that are not so good

Rod speaks about the atmosphere and shows that spaces may be changed by the emotional and affective experiences that unfold and comprise them. Rod shows that including the sport gambling platform into the family home assemblage destabilised the working arrangement to change space. Rod showed how his behaviours, actions

and emotions are mediated by his successes or failings with the sport gambling platform. At home, men who use sport gambling platforms have a more negative understanding of themselves. Rod's understanding of himself has become embedded in the gambling platform and changes relationally. The joys of winning could work to bring Rod closer to his parents and help him to 'talk more with mum and dad.' However, the sport gambling platform was more often associated with losing. Rod felt negative emotions and affects because his bodily space did not align with the social space of the home (see Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).

5.4. The workplace assemblage to achieve 'responsible employee'

Work and its related roles and responsibilities (Creswell, 2014) produce an array of emotional and affective intensities that operate to exclude sport gambling platforms. The exclusion could be tied to the performances of sporting masculinity that emerge when being a sport bettor and how these are kept separate from work. Tony is 22-years-old and works as a barrister. He said:

At work, I just don't go on my phone really. So, it is not really a thing.

Tony reterritorializes his workplace as a place that excludes sport gambling platforms. Tony understands that to keep his job and earn money he must be a responsible employee and that this means excluding both the sport gambling platform and the smartphone from the workplace assemblage. This enables him to perform in an acceptable way (see Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Tony also provides insight to how sporting masculine subjectivities are connected to some places (the pub, club or mate's place) and not others (Freeman, 1997).

In contrast to Tony, 25-year-old Jamal works as a support worker for the disabled and elderly. The sport gambling platform helps to carry Jamal away from the emotional and affective intensities of his job that can make him feel stressed. Jamal illustrates

that when included, sport gambling platforms reconstruct the forms of expression and forms of content that comprise his workplace:

Sometimes it can pull you away from reality, you can get carried away for a while. Like sometimes maybe when I am betting at work, there are some other important things that I have to do but I am like carried away. Yeah it does, it does take you away. Yeah... it takes you away because you want that feeling

In Jamal's own words, the feelings associated with sport gambling platforms 'pull you away from reality.' New gambling technologies capitalize on the affordances of the smart phone and the deregulation of gambling regulation extend gambling cultures and practices into the everyday (Torrens and Goggin, 2014). However, the positive intensities associated with winning a bet could improve how Jamal acts and feels when at work. Such positive implications are overlooked in the understanding of gambling that is shaped by psychology and public health.

Jamal was a very expressive man who used a broad array of body language when describing sport gambling platforms at work. This included sweeping circles with his hands and arms and moving back and forth on his seat. In one account, Jamal alluded to a loss of control (Clarke et al., 2016) of his corporeal and incorporeal transformations that emerged because of sports betting. Jamal shows that the corporeal transformations stimulated by the sport gambling platform in the workplace assemblage are intense and precognitive. When reflecting on the emotional and affective intensities, Jamal realised that his bodily space no longer aligned with the social space of the workplace (see Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).

Sometimes you will be like OH! Yeah! (voice becomes more expressive) like you are at work, you are supposed to be doing it discretely, sneakily. Like then you will be like owwww! Yeah (voice turns to whisper, mimicking what happens at work) or you like scream out of excitement and you push your arms out and you feel owwww! And then you go "oh, sorry" (when someone reacts) I am just.... Hahahaha

Even if momentarily, the sport gambling platform can carry people away from the identity of responsible employee and cause them to lose control (see Flood, 2018). This suggests that sport gambling platforms can be strategically included into working arrangements that constitute particular places to achieve certain things. Deterritorialising lines of flight stimulated by the sport gambling platform made Jamal aware that his body no longer aligned with social space of work. As such, places where sport gambling platforms are accepted and encouraged have more of a gambling atmosphere (see Anderson, 2010). Jamal demonstrates that the inclusion of the sport gambling platform into the workplace assemblage achieves something else than in the pub, club, friend's place or bedroom.

28-year-old Steve is an electrician who works on a fly-in fly-out schedule in remote locations around Australia. Steve demonstrated how the sport gambling platform enlivens the intra-actions between socio-cultural and material environments at work. Steve's workplace is assembled with discourses of masculinity that are associated with sport, rurality and working in the trades industry (Kell, 2000; Waitt and Clifton, 2015). He used his 'sports bet' diary to reflect on his changed understanding of sports betting in the weeks following the semi-structured interview. Steve captured the embodied, constructed and emplaced performances of sporting masculinity in his diary that are made acceptable through the organisations of bodily space at the workplace (Longhurst, 1994). This is supported by the ability to watch sport at work, drink alcohol and relax with similarly employed men:

I watched this game with fellow work people. The banter between everyone was heightened by the use of betting apps, as everyone was checking the crazy multi's that were available for the game. I didn't tell anyone at first and just observed the general conversation/vibe of the room after our discussion and the way things changed when talking about Sportsbet or the different betting apps that they were using. I encouraged some conversation around the apps themselves and seen how the group responded. When discussing the apps, it

seemed everyone was more talkative and excited to discuss the different bets placed from each person and if they thought it was a good idea.

Steve paints a clear picture of how the working arrangements of a place change, drawing attention to how bodies and non-human actants are affected by each other, generating impersonal or transpersonal intensities (McCormack, 2008; Stewart, 2007). Steve helps to understand the sociability of sport gambling platforms and how they help men to achieve certain things. Men can align themselves with social space that makes them feel 'good' through invoking notions of shared cultural value, competition, loyalty and comradeship (Gordon et al., 2015). The experiences of men including the sport gambling platform at work and the experiences of other men that exclude supports the idea that meanings tied to gambling are spatially variable and governed by social structures and interactions (Gordon et al., 2015).

5.5. The university assemblage to achieve 'responsible student'

Many of the men in this study attended university. Much of their lives were dictated by the regimes of higher-education that demand a certain level of dedication and commitment. In turn, this shaped their identity, particularly when physically at university. The university assemblage appeared to work similarly to the workplace assemblage. 20-year-old accounting student Harvey lives at home and defined university as a 'learning place' and 'job' associated with discourses of being a responsible student:

I never really gamble at uni because uni is more of like a learning place for me because I only come here to learn and then go home. It is like a job

Harvey's subjectivity at university is pre-configured by intra-actions with social and material worlds that work to exclude sport gambling platforms and keep separate performances of sporting masculinity (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). 20-year-old Charlie recounted similar embodied experiences to Harvey when at university:

It is just uni is like my work really, I think of it in the same way. I come here to learn and I come here to study. It is not really a place for leisure... I could do it if I needed to or wanted to. It is just not something I really think of. Like I don't really come here and go "I wanna bet"

The university is reterritorialized as a place of learning. Men feel better about themselves if they do not include sport gambling platforms and discourses of 'responsible student' are strong. By excluding the sport gambling platform, the experiences of sports betting socially with friends on the weekend is reward for the dedication and commitment to be a responsible student. This could increase levels of self-esteem that may encourage gambling (Kaplan, 1975; Thoits, 1994). Charlie shows that sport gambling platforms are assembled with material and expressive forces that work to include-exclude (Gordon et al., 2018).

24-year-old accounting student Rod normally kept the sport gambling platform separate from the university assemblage. The atmosphere of the university enveloped Rod and provided him with a 'time-away' from gambling that was becoming increasingly intense. In this respect, the university mediated some of the potential for personal harm associated with gambling (see Bellringer, 2017; Catford, 2012). However, the felt emotional and affective intensities stimulated by gambling were strong enough to leak into the everyday life of Rod (see Torrens and Goggin, 2014). Even when being a responsible student:

I think uni was sort of my outlet a little bit I could go there and focus on something other than betting and sport, unless there was horse races on that day there wouldn't really be much to wager on, to bet on. So, I sort of focused on uni rather than having to think about that. So yeah I did enjoy going to uni because it gave me a bit of time away from it.

When the sport gambling platform was included in the university assemblage, it was associated with the 'uni-bar.' The atmosphere at the uni-bar is different to the rest of the university because of the ways that bodies and space fold together to stimulate

feelings of joy, excitement and relaxation. Alcohol and food also work to carry students away from the usual norms and discourses associated with lecture theatres and classrooms. Including the sport gambling platform into the uni-bar but not the university draws attention to the different socio-cultural and environmental dimensions of the sport gambling assemblage (see Adams and Rossen, 2012; Korn, 2003; Thomas and Thomas, 2005). 28-year-old computer science student Michael showed that sports betting is used to alleviate boredom and bypass being alone:

I don't hang out with that many people at uni bar and I will get a couple of drinks and I will just be myself and it can be kind of boring and sometimes I will be like "aw I will put a bet on"

5.6. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter is to better understand where the gambling platform is excluded in the lives of young men. For most participants, sport gambling platforms were excluded from the girlfriend's home, family home, work and university. This implies that the family home, work and university are affective spaces that regulate, invoke, include and exclude (Valentine and Hughes, 2012). Sport gambling platforms are most likely to be included in workplaces dominated by particular versions of masculinity. For example, where 'gambling' is already socialised (trades) or that help change (boredom) or sustain a particular affective atmosphere of togetherness (see Anderson, 2010). That said, even in the familial home and girlfriend's home, the pressing forces of sport gambling platforms are always knocking at the door, threatening to spill over to places not before synonymous with sport betting (Torrens and Goggins, 2014).

Chapter 6

6.1. Revisiting the research aims and questions

Chapter 1 of this thesis provided an overview of the significance of the study. Attention was drawn to the role of sport gambling platforms and the rising popularity sports betting, especially among younger men. The significance of the study emerged in relation to the pre-existing understanding that was presented as a 'Background.' The aim of the thesis was to better understand what gambling platforms achieve in the lives of young men when understood as a spatial process of inclusion and exclusion. Two research questions were central to address the aim:

- Where do young men most enjoy using sport gambling platforms?
- Where do young men exclude sport gambling platforms?

Chapter 2 reviewed the literature to map what is known about gambling, geographies of masculinity and introduce a conceptual framework to address the research aim and questions. Psychologists and public health researchers were shown to shape discourse around gambling as a problematic activity. Gambling is often understood as a cognitive deficiency and addictive disorder that generates individual risk and harm. The individual is the focus and clinical intervention is advocated in the treatment of problematic and pathological gambling. Several social and cultural theorists are understanding gambling in new ways (see Reith and Dobbie, 2011, 2012; Gordon et al., 2015; Valentine and Hughes, 2012). Social and cultural theorists are alert to the role of socio-cultural environments and are slowly shifting the research focus towards low and moderate risk gamblers. Surprisingly, very little research has been conducted by geographers on gambling. The geographies of masculinity reviewed in Chapter 2 points toward the importance of conceiving gender as a more-than-human achievement. Building on this recent thinking, Chapter 2 also introduced corporeal feminist concepts of assemblage, territory, subjectivity and affective atmosphere.

These concepts offered a theoretical framework to interpret masculinity as spatially configured through the coming together of social and material entities (see Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).

Chapter 3 offered a justification of the qualitative mixed-methods approach. To help situate the knowledge, the chapter outlined the process of recruitment and provided a broad summary of the characteristics of the men involved in the study. Next, the chapter outlined a justification to better understand the uptake of sport gambling platforms and an appropriate combination of methods. These involved drawings, semi-structured interviews, 'solicited diaries' and a personal research diary. The semi-structured interview generated a gambling life narrative that detailed changes over the life course. These narratives were enhanced by more 'in-the-moment' knowledge afforded by text messages and solicited diaries. The combination of methods resulted in the men becoming reflexive about their gambling, conveying the emotional and affective dimensions in tones of language, body gestures and facial expressions. The methods opened-up a conversation about what gambling platforms enable them to achieve in their lives. The personal research diary enabled the researcher to remain hyper-attentive to relations of power set in motion by ideas and affective intensities. The final section of the chapter offered a discussion of rhizoanalysis. Rhizoanalysis was mindful of that knowledge is not only situated but also co-produced.

Chapter 4 was the first of two interpretation chapters. This chapter addressed the question – "where do young men most enjoy using sport gambling platforms?" The discussion was presented under four subheadings: the pub, the footy-trip away, the mate's house and bedrooms. The chapter highlighted the usefulness of spatial thinking because the emotional and affective intensities of sports gambling platforms are different depending on context. The chapter alluded to how masculinity is strategic. Further, the places where sports gambling platforms are used are those where performances of sporting masculinity feel accepted. The chapter confirmed that sports betting is tied to performances of sporting masculinity (Gordon et al., 2015) and that men are accustomed to separating their maleness into 'boxes'

(Freeman, 1997). The men implied that sport gambling platforms achieve many things, including generating and heightening bonds of mateship and sociality.

The interpretation offered in Chapter 5 focused on where gambling platforms are excluded to extrapolate processes of inclusion/exclusion. In theory, sport gambling enables gambling to occur anywhere and at any time. Therefore, the chapter was interested to draw out how the processes of exclusion may in some instances operate alongside those of inclusion. The chapter demonstrated that processes of inclusion and exclusion involve place, emotion, affect and the negotiation of spatially situated masculine subjectivities. The negotiation of masculine subjectivities unfolded within the confines of the family home, girlfriend's place, work and university. As such, sport gambling platforms were usually excluded. However, the chapter illustrated that in some instances, the sport gambling platform is included in the process of becoming a boyfriend, son, student and employee. This differentiation is to be expected as gambling behaviour is transitory, unstable and multidirectional (Abbot, 1999, 2004; LaPlante et al., 2008; Reith and Dobbie, 2012, Slutske, 2003).

6.2. Future Research

At least four future research agendas emerge from this study. First, while the young men in this study afford rich insights, the small sample was drawn from a regional city context and relatively homogenous by sexuality and geography. Future research may wish to consider the intersections between gambling and families, ethnicity, faith and or sexuality. Second, the study starts to point out the importance of different life-courses in shaping masculinities and the use of sport gambling platforms. Future research may wish to focus on rural masculinities or, inner city masculinities. Alternatively, research may focus on certain employment practices or sectors, for example rail commuters or fly-in fly out workers. Third, future studies may look toward the meanings and experiences of women who use sport gambling platforms. Which women use gambling applications? Where do they use them? What does the gambling platform enable them to achieve in their lives? Future research should build

on the understanding offered in this study and think more deeply about the emplaced, situated and embodied experiences that are spatially dependent and variable and that operate to include and exclude gambling platforms and constitute subjectivities. Finally, interdisciplinary approaches are championed by this study because they help to better understand the physiological, psychological, social and cultural dimensions of gambling. Interdisciplinary research offers possibilities to open-up new questions to better understand and address the highs and lows of gambling.

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Appendix A - PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (VERSION 2 May 2018)

TITLE: *What Are The Odds? Mobile Sports Gambling Cultures of Young Men*

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH: To better understand how young Australian men (18-25 years) use mobile sports gambling applications.

INVESTIGATORS:

Professor Gordon Waitt, University of Wollongong, gwaitt@uow.edu.au

Dr Ross Gordon, Macquarie University, ross.gordon@mq.edu.au

Hayden Cahill (Honours Student), University of Wollongong, hc847@uowmail.edu.au

and/or 0451 404 766

WHAT YOU WILL BE ASKED TO DO: This is an invitation to participate in research that will be incorporated into the Honours thesis of Hayden Cahill. Participants are encouraged from diverse cultural heritages, however participation requires fluency in English. The research does not seek to identify, record, analyse or disclose matters of cultural heritage that are sensitive or significant to people in relation to gambling. If you choose to participate you will be asked to share your stories and experiences about gambling with Hayden, specifically your everyday use of mobile sports gambling applications.

Your involvement is voluntary and your level of involvement depends on how much time you wish to dedicate to the project. The steps to participate in the research are the following: *Level 1* is a requirement. *Level 2* and *Level 3* are completely up to you.

Level 1 – I will ask you to tell me about you, where you grew-up, your interests, your family life, your work/study. We will then have a general conversation about gambling. Was gambling something that was part of family life? When did you start gambling? How is gambling important for you today? The conversation will then focus on mobile sports betting applications. I am interested to learn about the *Times* and *Places* you use these applications. How do these applications change your relationship with these places? How do these applications change your social relationships in these places? I would also like to hear memorable stories that you have from gambling on sports via your mobile. These stories could be good, or bad. I am interested in what encourages you to bet. Is it friends? Gambling advertisements? Fun?

Level 2 - You will be asked to give your consent for Hayden to accompany you while you are out-and-about in metropolitan Sydney/Wollongong and usually use your mobile sports gambling application. Conversations will occur while out-and-about. Participating in this level of the project enables a better understanding of the experiences of mobile sports gambling ‘in-the-moment’.

Level 3 - You will be invited to consent to keep a reflection of the *Time, Places* and *Emotions* associated with your use of a mobile sports gambling application over a week. The reflection can either be written in a notebook, or sent by text-messages to Hayden. This method allows Hayden detailed insights of your experiences of using mobile sports gambling applications over a week.

POSSIBLE RISKS, INCONVENIENCES AND DISCOMFORTS: Apart from the time taken to participate in this study, we can foresee no inconvenience for you. We anticipate the initial conversation around your everyday use of mobile sports gambling applications will be about one hour in duration. Hayden will only ‘go-along’ with you when you use your mobile sports gambling application if you feel comfortable. If you would like to reflect on your experiences using your mobile sports gambling application, the follow-up conversation is anticipated to take around 20-minutes.

You will not be pressured to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable, and your involvement is entirely voluntary. You may halt your participation at any time and withdraw any data you have provided until that point. You can also withdraw any data you have provided up to the end of July 2018. If you choose to do so, the data will be returned to you and will be erased from the University of Wollongong’s storage facilities. If you have any concerns about your gambling practices, here are the contact details for a free and confidential gambling support service: Gambling Help NSW, <https://gamblinghelponline.org.au/>, 1800 858 858.

FUNDING AND BENEFITS: The honours project is supported and funded by the School of Geography and Sustainable Communities at the University of Wollongong. To acknowledge the burden of time, all participants receive a \$20 Load&Go Gift Card. This card can be used anywhere that Visa is accepted. For more information, you can consult this website <https://auspost.com.au/money-insurance/buy-gift-cards/loadgo-gift-card>.

If you choose to participate, you will help fill a research gap by helping to generate a better understanding of how mobile sports gambling applications are used by young Australian men. Your participation may help shed insights to help inform future policy direction that prevent the social and individual harms for people who identify as problematic gamblers.

This research underpins an Honours thesis. This thesis may be published in academic journal articles, books, and conference papers. Confidentiality will be maintained by your ability to choose a pseudonym (false name). To further ensure confidentiality, all data that is obtained from you will be accessible to only named researchers on the project and stored for a minimum of 5 years in locked filing cabinets in the School of Geography and Sustainable Communities and on password protected computers. With approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee, the data may continue to be used by the researchers after the 5-years in related research and publications.

KNOW SOMEONE WHO MAY BE INTERESTED?

If you know of someone who might like to be involved in this project, please feel free to share Hayden Cahill's contact details (hc847@uowmail.edu.au or 0451 404 766). Hayden will send them this information sheet to let them know more about the project.

ETHICS REVIEW AND COMPLAINTS: This study was reviewed by the Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Wollongong. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the way this research has been conducted please contact the UOW Ethics Officer on (02) 4221 3386 or email rso-ethics@uow.edu.au. The Human Research Ethics Committee approval number for this project is 2018/227. If you have any administrative questions about this study, please contact the project leader, Gordon Waitt (gwaitt@uowmail.edu.au). Thank you for your interest in this study.

Appendix B - CONSENT FORM (VERSION 2 May 2018)

RESEARCH TITLE: *What Are The Odds? Mobile Sports Gambling Cultures of Young Men*

INVESTIGATORS:

Professor Gordon Waitt, University of Wollongong

Dr Ross Gordon, Macquarie University

Hayden Cahill (Honours Student), University of Wollongong - hc847@uowmail.edu.au, 0451 404 766

I have been given information about the project '*What Are The Odds? Mobile Sports Gambling Cultures of Young Men*', HREC approval number 2018/227. I have discussed the study with Hayden Cahill, who is conducting this research as part of an Honours thesis in the School of Geography and Sustainable Community, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Wollongong.

I have been advised of the potential risks and burdens associated with the study. I understand that I will participate in the semi-structured interview, and that the 'go-along' and follow-up conversation based on either notebook or text message reflections are both optional.

I understand that my research participation is voluntary, I am free to refuse to participate and I am free to withdraw from the study at any time. If I decide not to participate or withdraw my consent, this will not affect my relationship with the University of Wollongong. I also understand that I can withdraw any data that I have contributed to the project up until the end of July 2018.

If I have any enquires about the study, I can contact Gordon Waitt (gwaitt@uow.edu.au). If I have any concerns or complaints regarding the way the research is or has been conducted, I can contact the Ethics Officer, Human Research Ethics Committee, Office of Research,

University of Wollongong on (02) 4298 1331 or email rso-ethics@uow.edu.au By signing below I am indicating my consent to (please tick):

- ☐ Participate in an interview
- ☐ Have an audio-recording of the interview made for the purposes of transcription
- ☐ Have a researcher accompany when I am out-and-about and usually use my mobile sports gambling application
- ☐ Keep a reflection notebook over the course of a week OR
- ☐ Send reflective text messages over the course of a week

I understand that the data collected from my participation will be used for an honours thesis and may be used to write academic journal articles, books and conference papers. I also understand that the data collected may be used when communicating research outcomes to the media. I consent for the data I provide to be used in these ways.

Signed

Date

.....

...../...../.....

Name (please print)

.....

Appendix C – Semi-structured interview (Version: April 2018)

The semi-structured interview will follow the below structure as a guide. The questions have been shaped in the context of key concepts, literature, and the project aim.

1. Getting to know you
2. Gambling life narrative – getting to know more about gambling in your life
3. Mobile sports gambling applications
4. Memorable stories
5. Who or what encourages you to bet
6. What are the pros and cons of gambling – what does it enable you to achieve

1. Getting to know you - this section will allow for an understanding on cultures of gambling.

Thank you for participating in this project. Our conversation is going to be structured into six parts - 1. Getting to know you – cultures of gambling; 2. Gambling life narrative – getting to know more about gambling in your life; 3. Mobile sports gambling applications; 4. Memorable stories; 5. Who or what encourages you to bet; and, 6. What are the pros and cons of gambling – what does it enable you to achieve.

1.a Cultures of gambling

To begin with I would like to learn more about you – where you grew-up, your interests, your family life, your work/study.

2. Gambling life narrative – this section opens a general conversation about gambling.

I am interested in learning about when you started gambling, if gambling was something that was part of your family life, and the importance of gambling in your life today.

Could you tell me the first time that you gambled? This could be sports betting, lotto, scratchies, keno.

The first time you gambled, who was it with?

Do members of your family gamble? Have you gambled with them?

Why is gambling an activity that you continue to do?

What do you gamble on?

How important is gambling on sports? Which sports and why?

3. Mobile sports gambling applications

We have discussed gambling generally. This section next focuses more specifically on your use of the mobile sports gambling applications. I am interested in learning more about the *Times* and *Places* that you use a mobile sports gambling application and how it changes your relationship with these places and the social relationships in these places. Firstly, can you please jot down on this piece of paper the places that you usually use your mobile sports betting applications. If you forget a place, do not worry. If you remember it during the course of this discussion, simply jot it down and we can chat about it as well. If they are struggling – **prompt** by mentioning:

- At home
- Out and about with friends
- On the move – in the car, walking, at the station, on the train

Now, for X place tell me about how it changed your relationship with this place; what about the social relationships. Now, for X.... – will assist with the conceptualisation of relationship with place for participants, i.e. did it make a boring place more exciting or fun?

4. Memorable stories

Share with me some memorable stories when you placed a bet with your app.

5. Who usually encourages you to bet

The prompts:

- Friends
- Advertisements
- Family
- Nobody – myself

The pros - What encourages you to bet

The prompts:

- Pleasure/thrill of risk taking
- Sense of togetherness
- Generate a sense of participation in an event that would otherwise be disinteresting
- Boredom

6. What cons of gambling –

Prompts:

- Negative impact of friendship
- Concerns about money
- Secrecy

Level 2 'Out and about – Go-along conversation on mobile sports betting app

The go-along is about creating opportunities to talk with young men who use mobile sports gambling applications within the context of familiar places. Within these places, these are examples of types of questions that might be explored:

- Tell me more about what you are doing?
- Tell me more about why this is the right moment to place a bet?
- Tell me about the impact of the surroundings in this decision?
- Tell me more about how you felt after the outcome of the bet was known?

- Tell me more about how the outcome of the bet changed how you felt about yourself? What about the place you are in? What about the relationship with the people you are with?

Level 3 Follow-up interview questions on reflective notebook or text messages

The questions asked in the follow-up conversation will further unpack the participant's experience of placing specific bets. Attention will be drawn to the location; if the participation is alone or with friends and family; why they placed the bet; the outcomes of placing the bet in terms of how that person felt, if it changed their mood; if the emotions generated by placing the bet changed the social dynamics with friends and family

- Where were you?
- Who were you with?
- Why did you choose X place to gamble on sports?
- How did you feel (before/during/after)?
- Did you watch the sport that you gambled on?
- Did your mood change after the result of the bet was known?
- Do you think your gambling experience was known to others around you at the time?
- Do you think those around you were affected by your gambling experience?
- Did you ever feel negative when gambling on sports via your mobile application?
- Do you find this method (reflective diary/text messages) to be an easier way to express and convey the emotions you experience when gambling on sport?

I am interested in learning more about this entry you made on the X. Are you alone/with friends at the time? Tell me more about where you were at the time? What were you doing before you placed the bet? Tell me about what you placed your bet on?

Having placed the bet I am interested in learning more about how placing the bet made you feel. What sort of things did this emotion encourage you to do? Did it change your mood? Did it change the atmosphere of the location? Did it change the connections with the people you were with? Did it change how you felt about yourself? Can you describe any physiological changes that occur in your body as you place the bet?

Lets move to after the result of the bet. How did the outcome make you feel? What sort of things did this emotion encourage you to do? How did the outcome change how you felt about yourself? What about the connections with your friends?

Appendix D – Human Research Ethics Committee: Approval

Dear Professor Waitt,

I am pleased to advise that the application detailed below has been **approved**.

Ethics Number: 2018/227
Approval Date: 05/06/2018
Expiry Date: 04/06/2019
Project Title: Young Men and Mobile Sports Gambling Applications: A Corporeal Geography
Researchers: Cahill Hayden; Gordon Ross; Waitt Gordon
Documents **Ethics** Application Form V1 submitted 17/04/2018
Approved: Response to Review submitted 31/05/2018
Consent Form V2 submitted 01/06/2018
Participant Information Sheet V2 submitted 01/06/2018
Facebook - Email Recruitment Script V2 submitted 01/06/2018
Script V1 submitted 17/04/2018
Letter of Invitation V1 submitted 17/04/2018
Progress Report V1 submitted 17/04/2018
Budget V1 submitted 17/04/2018
Investigator Information V1 submitted 17/04/2018

Sites:

Site	Principal Investigator for Site
University of Wollongong	Professor Gordon Waitt

The HREC has reviewed the research proposal for compliance with the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* and approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with this document. Compliance is monitored through progress reports; the HREC may also undertake physical monitoring of research.

Approval is granted for a twelve month period; extension of this approval will be considered on receipt of a progress report **prior to the expiry date**. Extension of approval requires:

- The submission of an annual progress report and a final report on completion of your project.
- Approval by the HREC of any proposed changes to the protocol or investigators.
- Immediate report of serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants.
- Immediate report of unforeseen events that might affect the continued acceptability of the project.

If you have any queries regarding the HREC review process or your ongoing approval please contact the **Ethics** Unit on 4221 3386 or email rs0-ethics@uow.edu.au.

Yours sincerely,

Emma Barkus

Associate Professor Emma Barkus,

Chair, UOW & ISLHD Social Sciences Human Research **Ethics Committee**

The University of Wollongong and Illawarra and Shoalhaven Local Health District Social Sciences HREC is constituted and functions in accordance with the NHMRC National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research.